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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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A General View of the Colonial History of the New World

SILVIO ZAVALA *

IT has been customary for some decades to begin any study of the general history of the American hemisphere with a discussion of the unity or diversity existing among the histories of the American peoples. The manner in which a particular historian expresses himself usually reveals his declaration of faith when he states his thesis, with a greater or lesser degree of firmness. This first declaration is customarily followed by a second, which determines whether this unity, or diversity, originated in Europe or America.

Before continuing this train of thought and adding our own profession of faith to preceding ones, it should be noted that the main arguments in this

* The Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History in Mexico City has for several years been engaged in preparing a Program on the History of the New World based upon a broad international collaboration. This essay constitutes a sort of introduction to the part of the Program devoted to the colonial era in the American hemisphere. Two American scholars assisted in the translation from the Spanish text. Dr. Zavala, who is president of the Commission, is interested primarily in the colonial history of the New World. One of his early publications is *Las instituciones jurídicas en la Conquista de América* (Madrid, 1935).

debate have been extensively set forth by excellent minds on both sides.¹ The hypothesis proposed here is that we should speak with greater propriety if, instead of accepting a flat verdict in favor of the unity or the diversity existing among the histories of the American countries, we should be willing to recognize that the history of the New World embraces both unities and diversities. Further, these unities and diversities vary in origin, follow different directions, and change over periods of time.

During the colonial era, the Spanish monarchy included, in addition to the peninsular territory and other European areas joined to it by dynastic ties, a few points on the African coast, the Canary Islands, a vast zone of America, and the Philippine Islands. Portuguese expansion covered territories located in Africa, Asia, and America. The colonial history of Brazil, in this case, is included within what Gilberto Freyre has justly called the history of the world the Portuguese created. The French, Dutch, and English Empires also extended into several continents.

A comparison of the colonial experiences of the European peoples in the New World cannot be based upon the same sort of unity that is to be found in the multicontinental expansion of each of the European empires considered separately. It appears useless to compare the unity that existed between England and its colonies, on the one hand, with the unity that may have existed between the English colonies and Brazil, on the other. The political, economic, and linguistic ties existing between the mother country and the English colonies are many and obvious; the divergencies among institutions, religion, and art between the Anglo-American possessions and Brazil are so profound and so numerous that a verdict of unity and of diversity would appear to correspond inevitably to the first and second cases respectively.

A comparison of society in the southern Anglo-American colonies with that which flourished in the northeastern part of Brazil, however, shows us certain similar elements centering around life on the plantations and the slavery of Negroes imported from Africa by Europeans. From this point of view, there is less unity between the metropolitan English society and the southern Anglo-American communities in the eighteenth century than be-

¹ It is only fair to recognize the debt of gratitude to Herbert E. Bolton and his pupils for the impulse they have given to this field. See Bolton, "The Epic of Greater America," *American Historical Review*, XXXVIII (Apr. 1933), 448-74, and *History of the Americas* (Boston, 1928). Some interpretations include: "Have the Americas a Common History?" *Canadian Historical Review*, XXIII (June 1942), 125-56; *Ensayos sobre la Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (México, D.F., 1951), and the *Revista de historia de América*, XXXIV (Dec. 1952), 469-89. Among the works of Hispano-American authors of the twentieth century, those which Carlos Pereyra dedicated to the general history of America are outstanding. On the evolution of the concept, the Chilean historian Eugenio Pereira Salas is at present preparing a thoroughgoing study.

tween the latter region and the northeastern area of Brazil. One evident consequence of this situation is that in the nineteenth century both the United States and Brazil were confronted within their respective boundaries by the social problem of the abolition of slavery that did not exist in like form in England.

The inter-American unity just pointed out is a complex phenomenon, as we shall see in the subsequent, more detailed analysis. It is mentioned here only to indicate a parallel between certain social areas in the hemisphere which should be considered along with the more obvious European-American ties. This parallel does not represent either an affiliation or a direct relation between such American regions. Neither, however, is it fortuitous. Both colonizations were adaptations to comparable geographic conditions suitable for plantation economies, while maintaining parallel contacts with Europe and sharing an international intercourse with Africa.

Some authors consider that, since the area of English colonization included non-American territories also, there is more historical sense in studying these experiences in various parts of the world (India, South Africa, Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand) than in inserting the English colonization of America into the over-all picture of the colonizations of other European nations which extended over the same continent, since the latter are intrinsically diverse. Histories of the British Empire would thus be admissible, but those of the American colonial world would not, because a unifying historical theme would appear to be lacking.

Histories of European colonial areas of expansion, as stated above, were obviously not restricted to the American hemisphere. Not only can each one of these empires be studied in a world perspective; the totality of them can also be studied in this way. In addition to the pluricontinental historical reasons that exist in the case of the Spaniards, Portuguese, French, English, and Dutch, we find geographic correlations created by latitude among the regions of the various continents of Siberia, Alaska, Greenland, and Northern Europe; Brazil and tropical Africa and Asia; Argentina and Australia, among other examples.

But this does not mean, in our opinion, that general studies of the New World have no place beside these others. The two criteria are not mutually exclusive. Rather, they are mutually helpful in achieving a better comprehension of world history.

The American focus allows us to see an over-all picture of parallel colonial experiences. Although not always connected, they are the result of the expansion of various European nations during approximately the same mo-

ments in time, in geographic areas where some real connections were possible, and through forms of society and culture whose comparison, in their similarities and diversities, permits us to obtain a more complete knowledge of each particular colonization and region and helps to define the general outlines of the history of the hemisphere in this era, as well as its relations with the rest of the world.

There are analogies. Western historians have been accustomed to trace the origins, the climax, and the decadence of an extensive Roman Empire, which lasted over a long period of time and which included a number of different provinces. The outward expansions of various European nations, all of which occurred within a period of about three centuries and which created the world of the American colonizations, with their struggles, commercial relations, parallels, and differences, have traditionally been studied on a national or fragmentary basis. It is true that we lack a single center of power comparable to that of the Roman Empire and that the vast ocean lies between the European metropolises and their possessions. The study of life in the American provinces, as a historical phenomenon in itself, has, on the other hand, not received sufficient comparative attention. Nor have the relations of the provinces among themselves and with other parts of the world been duly emphasized. Since the eighteenth century, consequently, we have been losing, both in Europe and in America, the habit of contemplating this colonial expansion in its totality and of examining its multiple effects across the sea, to the detriment of a proper understanding of modern world history, and, especially, that of the New World.

Although the task is not easy, it is well worth our while to attempt a return to an over-all view. It utilizes new perspectives and methods and the results of the general and special studies accumulated, fortunately, by modern historiography for different times, places, and cases, which may provide more extensive and documented material than that accessible to eighteenth-century historians.

Some historians maintain that if, by chance, unities may be found to have existed among the histories of the American colonizations, their origin is almost inevitably to be found in ties pre-existing in European culture. Other scholars, no less learned and well intentioned, believe they have discovered relationships among the various colonizations which are attributable to the peculiar circumstances of the immigrants' adaptation to the geographic and social environment of the New World.

It should be noted that if the parallels discernible in American history are

based solely on the confluences of European cultures, we should then find that our search would continually force us to go beyond the framework of the new continent and would convert our efforts into a review of the unities of European history which crossed the ocean through the various branches of colonization.

This is, to a great extent, inevitable, since we are dealing with a colonial history. In the debates on American history, scholars have noted and even exaggerated the fact that the mainstream of relations flowed at that time from the European metropolises to the American colonies and not from certain areas of colonization to others.

We consider it advisable, however, to grasp as well the parallels in their particular expression in the colonial regions of the New World. That is to say, we must place ourselves within the context of life on this continent in order to observe from that vantage point all of the influences that were received, the connections established, the successive stages that occurred, and the physiognomy gradually acquired by social and cultural features. All this includes not only the initial European unities operating within the various colonizations in the New World, but also other different elements, both exterior and interior, which might have exercised general or regional effects.

There does exist a certain possibility of distinguishing between the history of the expansion of the European nations and the history of colonial America. It would be well, for example, to study the irradiation of the Dutch from their center of habitation in Europe, their methods of travel, and their roots and attempts at colonization (whether outside of America or within various American territories, around the Hudson River, the Caribbean area, or the southern part of the hemisphere), and to write this history as a chapter of the general history of Holland. But it is also possible to study the arrival of the Dutch in Brazil as one of the elements of that country's colonial history, taking into account all of the influences in operation, both the early and later Portuguese currents as well as those from Africa and the Orient, in addition to the influence exerted by the territory itself, the Indians, inter-American relations with neighboring countries, and the course of local history.

A complete study of the colonial world is only possible if it covers the background and the contributions of the Europeans side by side with the various components of the colonial history, properly so-called, of each country in the New World. In this way, the features of American history may be outlined without neglecting its connections with the expansion of the colonizing countries and its contacts with other continents.

In commenting upon these ideas, Professor Charles Verlinden, in a clear and penetrating analysis, proposed that the study of European precedents be linked with that of the colonial zones, without isolating the colonizations of the different nations, in such a way that an examination could be made of the interaction of both the European antecedents and the American areas of colonization.² This possibility was also perceived by J. H. Parry, even though he pointed out the difficulties of such study, when he noted that the Program on the History of the New World was an invitation to see the colonial period of American history "as an American story, as a vital part of the corporate experience of American peoples, and not as a chronological account of the policies and actions of European peoples in America."³

We believe that a dual focus is possible. Among the many themes examined in this work, we encounter unities that have their origins at times in a European past and at times in an American experience, with divergencies that may be traced to either of these two sets of beginnings.

All of the colonizing nations professed Christianity in common, for example, but the Spaniards, Portuguese, and French practiced the Catholic cult in the New World, while the English and the Dutch adhered to reformed positions as a result of the European divisions of religion and their reflections in the colonies. The European distribution of languages of Latin and Germanic origin was repeated in the spread of Spanish, Portuguese, and French, on the one hand, and of English and Dutch, on the other, throughout the Western Hemisphere. Anglo-American common law existed side by side with the colonial statutes and codes of the Spaniards and the French as influenced by Romanization. These two conflicting legal systems produced complex situations in certain regions of the New World, as may be observed in Puerto Rico beginning at the end of the nineteenth century. Wooden constructions abounded in the wooded regions of North America, while stone buildings were common to the Hispano-American colonies of Middle America, not only because of available local materials or Indian traditions, but also as projections of different climates and traditions in Northern Europe and the Mediterranean which were adapted to the conditions of the New World.

It is common knowledge that specific appraisal of different values varies among the critics in accordance with the accidents of historical fortune. But the important fact to be emphasized is that some of the cultural unities and

² Letter dated Nov. 16, 1954. An interesting sketch of his ideas is found in "Étude des liens culturels et moraux entre l'Ancien et le Nouveau Continents," Contribution No. 3, UNESCO, Programme 1954, Résolution 4.112.

³ Work read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Dec. 1954, and published in *Revista de Historia de América*, XXXIX (June 1955), 185-91.

divergencies present in Europe spread to America and developed under new circumstances, subject to different distribution.

When we study the American regions belonging to a single empire, as was done in the *Primeras Contribuciones* Series of the Program, we find that marked provincial diversities and distances exist, beyond a shadow of a doubt. We note, for example, those between Canada and the French islands of the Antilles; among the English colonies in the northern, middle, and southern regions of the Atlantic coastal plain of North America and the islands of the Caribbean; among the Spanish possessions of the Antilles, Mexico, Central and South America, or among the vast regions of Brazil in the north, the south, along the coast, and in the interior of that country. Such regional differences, however, no matter how sharply etched by various geographic and social factors, are to be considered as the ramifications of a European colonial trunk which has coherent cultural features. This fact induced Mariano Picón Salas to ask that his investigation of Hispanic South America be integrated with the study of the Spanish Antilles and of northern and middle Hispano-America.

On the other hand, when we compare American colonization by various European metropolises, we can certainly discover uniform connections derived from the common framework of European civilization, the exchanges occasioned by American contiguity, the parallel situations in the New World environment, and the comparable reactions to the problems posed by the presence of various types of general factors, such as mercantilism, Negro slavery, and so forth.

Yet side by side with these possible connections and parallels, we can also see the divergencies of language, institutions, religion, customs, and loyalties which separated the respective American areas belonging to different European countries. In this way we can clearly perceive the influence which elements of European origin exercised upon the formation of unities and diversities in the colonial areas and regions of America.⁴

⁴European civilization is in itself a whole composed of elements of various origins. Each metropolitan country from time to time assimilated or modified the influences it received from without. In doing this, there appears to be a style which offers constancy and helps us to understand the nature of nations. The currents affecting that process could come both from Europe and elsewhere. An intelligent treatment of a case may be found in Lucien Febvre and François Crouzet, *Origines internationales d'une civilisation: Éléments d'une histoire de France* (Paris, 1951). See also the learned reflections of Rafael Altamira, *El derecho al servicio de la paz. Cuestiones internacionales* (México, D.F., 1954), 126-29, on the characteristics of the originality of each people and each group of related peoples which express "the immense richness of the human spirit for conceiving the fundamental factors and directions of human life in different ways and for arriving at their realization by very diverse paths which do not alter their substance." It is sometimes thought that the essential nature of Americanism may be found in the way in which the men of the continent selected the influences which reached them from Europe or from other parts of the world. The international confluences were present not only

With respect to the possibility of New World experiences producing similarities among certain colonized zones, we might mention the following examples. All of the colonies received emigrants and experienced the problems of their adaptation to new societies. All of the empires included frontiers that required exploration, the mastery of new resources, and, often, battles against Indians. In various colonial areas, zones of extensive livestock raising were developed where the American cowboy acquired particular skill in the art of horsemanship and the handling of wild herds. The Negro slave plantations established relationships among social regions belonging to various empires. The great rivers, the areas surrounded by legendary wealth, and the vantage points dominating the maritime and overland routes attracted colonizers of different European origins and created zones of rivalry. The demands arising from the exploitation of colonial resources led to the employment of forced labor, whether of Indians, Africans, or contracted European servants. At every point the prohibitions of European mercantilism coincided with the development of contraband in the American possessions. And subjects of European crowns born in the New World adopted rebellious attitudes with regard to the domination of their respective mother countries.

In addition to these parallels, certain direct relationships developed among the colonial areas as a result of proximity, as in the case of the Hispano-Americans and the Brazilians who competed along the banks of the Río de la Plata; or of the intercolonial penetrations motivated by contraband; or of the temporary commercial licenses granted to nations possessing colonies in the New World and to neutral ships; or of wars, such as those between the French and English in North America; or of changes of sovereignty, as when the crowns of Spain and Portugal were united (1580-1640) and when part of Brazil was conquered by the Dutch and later reconquered by the Portuguese and the Brazilians; or of the production of a common article such as sugar in the Antilles and Brazil that promoted competition and imitation; or, on the contrary, of the exchange of different products which gave rise to a complementary commerce, such as took place between the temperate colonies of North America, which sent foodstuffs, cattle, and wood to the tropical islands of the Caribbean, and the French, Dutch, and Spanish Antilles, which offered in exchange sugar, molasses, and rum, or of general interests such as those which existed in connection with the interimperial Negro slave trade.

in the metropolitan areas but also to a certain extent in the colonies themselves, although the processes of selection in both cases did not have the same scope and autonomy, for in certain examples the influences operated on directive cultures, while in others they fell upon societies in a state of dependence.

The extension and geographic variety of the continent, the difficulties of communication and the distances involved, and the different kinds of exploited resources, however, offer a vast gamut of shadings within the American pattern of settlement. This contributed to the differentiation of the manifold aspects of intrainperial regions as well as to that between each empire and the others.

In addition to European and American factors which tended to create the unities and diversities we have pointed out, we need to examine other influences originating in Africa and Asia.

Afro-America constituted an area of ethnic and cultural distribution that did not conform to the boundaries of any single European colonization. Rather, it overlapped several of these nexuses of colonial settlements, especially the regions of the Anglo-American South in North America, the Antilles controlled by Spain, France, England, Holland, and Denmark, certain Spanish-colonized coasts of North, Central, and South America, and northern parts of Portuguese Brazil. Multiple African cultures and sites of origin have been given by anthropologists as explanations for some of the variants exhibited by the Negro in America. Since the African natives did not arrive on the American continent by way of spontaneous emigration but as the result of the slave trade which was organized by various European countries and in which governors, merchants, and settlers of the American colonies intervened, the Negroes thus transferred suffered considerable dispersion and visible losses in their languages, social structures, and cultural elements. Their ethnic characteristics and their linguistic, religious, and folkloric complexes did not, however, entirely disappear. Certain tendencies toward the reconstruction of groups and hierarchies were still observable in the organization of brotherhoods and outlaw gangs.

The Negro's social position in America's colonial environments was influenced by the predominating type of exploitation, the legislation and the attitude of the different colonizers, the degree to which emancipation was accessible, and the extent of miscegenation. Demographic results present contrasts ranging from the scant or nonexistent Negro population in certain regions where the natural or human factors were not propitious for its concentration, as was apparently the case in the Mexican plateau, the Andean highlands, and the temperate pampas of Río de la Plata, to the dense Afro-American population observable on the tropical coasts and islands that even reached majority proportions in Haiti.

African, European, and colonial factors, then, contributed to the diversi-

fication of the Negro's position and influence in the American societies. The communication of Africa with America, viewed on a hemispheric scale, was nevertheless the route of entry for an important element of the ethnic and cultural composition of the New World. It characterized a vast zone colonized by various European countries, without exclusive channeling or determination by imperial boundaries.

The attraction of the Orient quickened the eagerness of Europeans to search for passages across the new continent. Contacts between Asia and America also resulted from the opening of the Portuguese route to the Orient by way of the African coast and from the incidental relations which this occasioned with Brazil, from the direct navigation of the Spaniards across the Pacific and their settlement in the Philippines, and from the appearance of other Europeans, including the Dutch, French, English, and Russians, in the American waters along the shores of the Pacific.

Some Oriental workers arrived in the Spanish colonies in a condition of servitude and were responsible for a certain amount of racial mingling. They did not, however, succeed in occupying an area of distribution comparable to that of the Afro-Americans, nor did they anywhere exhibit a similar density of population.

Commerce between Asia and Manila was carried on mainly by the Chinese, and this trade connected with the line of Spanish galleons linking Manila to Acapulco. Interest in the merchandise of the Orient contributed to forging the Hispano-American navigational branch route between Acapulco and El Callao, though it was subject to the restrictions imposed by the Spanish monopoly. The traffic of the galleons across the Pacific stirred the apprehensions of the French who had interests in trade between Spain and the Indies, for it presented a possible threat to French trade.

A taste for silks, furniture, porcelains, and other objects of luxury and art from the Orient was common to both Spanish and Portuguese colonies. Anglo-America was only able to enjoy these cultural goods through the Asiatic and Atlantic commerce of the metropolis, since direct Anglo-American contact with Asia did not exist until the end of the eighteenth century.

Another factor in the history of the New World is the presence of the Indian inhabitants and their encounters with European colonizers. Many centuries without communication between the inhabitants of the two continents had elapsed. Their respective civilizations had developed independently and differed in substantial aspects of both a material and an intellectual nature before contact reoccurred. The discovery of America by Europeans

changed the course of world relations as practiced up to that time, as well as the internal bases of American history.

Indian America exhibited a certain degree of regional concentration, for example, in Middle America and in the Andes, but the demographic and cultural distribution of the sedentary and nomadic peoples in various regions of the continent differed considerably. Those differences existing among the native groups influenced the kinds of contact effected with the European colonizers. The circumstances of natural environment and exploited resources contributed to such diversification, as did the moment in which the encounter took place and the techniques and cultural tendencies of each group of occupants arriving from Europe or who had already become acclimated to another region of the American continent, such as the tropical Antilles.

The resulting variety is apparent when we compare the provinces of the extensive Spanish Empire (the nomadic frontier lands of northern Mexico with the lands of the Middle American sedentary settlers, or the equally densely populated highland Peru with sparsely settled Río de la Plata), or when we pass from one colonization to another (from Canada or New England to Mexico, Peru, or the Portuguese Amazon).

Many different relationships existed between the European colonizers and the Indians: wars, commerce, the alcohol trade, alliances, evangelization, ethnographic and linguistic studies, acculturation, miscegenation, administration, legislation, the utilization of personal services, plundering, expulsions, and epidemics. In some zones, such as the Spanish Antilles or along the Anglo-American frontier in the Northern Hemisphere, the native population was extinguished or displaced and replaced by Africans or Europeans. But in vast areas of America, the Indian population coexisted with the European-American population, and, in certain cases, with the African immigrants. This was a result of the prolongation of Indian life with which the history of the continent began, however profoundly altered by new factors of population and culture. The attendant phenomena included intermarriage, adaptation of economies and social structures, and adjustment of customs within the bodies of the heterogeneous societies which brought together men and civilizations of widely separated origins and different cultural levels.

The American Indian area still occupies an extensive territory, but it is not as widely influential in those parts of the continent which have become populated predominantly by European-Americans, as in certain regions of the United States and Argentina, or where the immigration of African origin is concentrated, as in the Antilles and along the Brazilian coasts. Indian-America, in spite of its variations, represents another of the general factors

which have contributed to the determination of the course of history in large parts of the hemisphere.

This analysis of existing general factors and of the relations and comparisons among the colonization areas permits us to distinguish, from the ethnic and social viewpoints, various zones of the New World in which the European immigrants, the population of African origin, or the American Indian prevailed numerically. We can also differentiate certain cultural elements rooted in these diverse origins which extended across the political boundaries of the colonizations. Such diversities have given rise to unilateral European, African, or Indian explanations which attempt to project conclusions based upon a regional experience throughout the entire American hemisphere. Side by side with the "Americas" of different European national origins—Spanish, Portuguese, French, English, and Dutch—we find the Americas of European, African, and Indian identity.

We must not forget, however, the existence of compound phenomena resulting from the convergence of elements with different origins that acquired special historical expressions as they functioned in the New World. If we turn to one of the most clearly defined cases, that of the plantations, we find an American subtropical or tropical region suitable for the cultivation of an agricultural export product, whether native (tobacco or cocoa), or imported (sugar), an available supply of Negro labor transported from Africa, and colonists coming from various European nations. In the course of history all three of these factors combined into a sociological and cultural complex, based on slavery and functioning, in its own peculiar form, in the New World. The American plantation differed from European or African zones where certain elements basic to the existence of the plantation as a sociological type originated. At the same time, the plantation failed to present any factor that was exclusively American since even the tropical climate and the products could be found in other geographic regions of the planet.

It was the particular combination of such diverse elements in this particular zone of the world which grouped Europeans and Africans overseas around special economic, social, and cultural ties that gave recognizable characteristics to the historic image of the plantation in the New World. The phenomenon was an American one, or at least the plantation appeared as a social type in the history of the New World, even though it existed as an integration of older elements derived from three continents. We might still assume that the European factor was the dominant one in this aggregate as transporter of the Negro, master and legislator of slavery, and regu-

lator of the markets and chief consumer of the export product. The plantation in which such European traits of leadership converged and culminated was, however, no longer a replica of something that existed as such in Europe. This is one of the most manifest examples of colonial synthesis and re-creation and, at the same time, of singularization of an American phenomenon.

Even though plantations are to be found in other parts of the world, as, for example, in Java, this in no way prevents the study of their manifestations in the New World from being the subject of a comparative examination within the various colonizations. This analysis is applicable to other situations in continental history and serves to demonstrate that the convergence which created new and complex phenomena cannot fail to be taken into account if we wish to understand the entirety and variety of American history.

During the sixteenth century the New World was a field of colonization for the Iberian peoples. Attacks and attempted settlement by the French (Cartier and Roberval in Canada, Villegaignon in Brazil, and Ribault and Laudonnière in Florida) and English (Gilbert and Raleigh in Newfoundland, and again Raleigh in Virginia) were not lacking, but the results of such colonizing efforts had been unfortunate or insignificant as compared to the progress of the Spanish and Portuguese settlements.

During the seventeenth century other European peoples (French, English, Swedish, Danish, and Dutch) installed themselves on the continent and among the islands of America, either in territories seized from the Iberian colonizers or in those which the latter had left unoccupied. The contiguities of empires and the changes of European sovereignty in the New World possessions took on greater importance at that time (Jamaica passed into the hands of the English, half of Santo Domingo went to the French, the Dutch occupied and the Portuguese were restored in Pernambuco, and the English conquered New Amsterdam).

The American empires of the English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish tended to expand, and the Russians made their appearance on the Northwest coast during the eighteenth century. Before the end of the century, French control of Canada and the interior of North America was broken by the English, and the Anglo-American colonies won their independence. Louisiana was ceded to the United States and Haiti became independent early in the following century. By the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, we find, along with the first free nations in America, certain remnants of the English, French, Dutch, Danish, and Russian domains, as well as

vast areas of Spanish and Portuguese colonizations. The last won their independence prior to the end of the third decade of that century, with the exception of Cuba and Puerto Rico, and, for a short time, Santo Domingo.

Iberian colonizations preceded by approximately a century the establishments of the English, French, and Dutch settlements in the New World. This chronological asymmetry contributed, with other factors, to the diversification of the New World societies.

The first Spanish kingdoms were influenced by the heritage of the peninsular frontier between Christians and infidels, the unitarian tradition of an evangelizing Christianity jealous of orthodoxy, the active presence of the religious orders, the seigneurial organization of society, the union of the monarchy with the Church through the *Patronato*, the foundation of scholastic universities, and the artistic flowering of the Gothic, Mudéjar, and Plateresque styles. Brazil revealed similarities in several of these traditions.

The intervention of mercantile companies and the repercussions of the political rivalries of the European powers and of religious reform in Europe, on the other hand, influenced the beginnings of the colonizations founded in the seventeenth century.

A considerable distance exists between the urban grandeur of Lima and Mexico, capitals of the Spanish vicerealties created in the sixteenth century, and the modesty of the seats founded by the other colonizing countries at the beginning of the following century. Signs of such disparity are apparent in the dates of the founding of the first colleges and universities in the New World and of the introduction of printing, the prosperity of the Church, administration and laws, the population figures, the value of economic transactions, the descriptions by travelers, the appearance of the first literary works, and the importance and style of artistic monuments. During the seventeenth century, and especially in the eighteenth, some of these initial differences were compensated for or diminished.

If the Hispano-American sixteenth century had been prodigious in discoveries, conquests, and foundations, it was followed, as Mariano Picón Salas has pointed out in his volume in the *Primeras Contribuciones Series* and previously in his *De la conquista a la independencia*, by an era of consolidation and diversification of the provinces. "The old generation of adventurers and fighters appears to have been followed by another which preferred calm enjoyment of the land."

Under the rule of the house of Austria, great cathedrals were constructed, the *Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias* was published, certain

frontiers were further widened, the great cycle of baroque art began, and in some cases letters reached heights that compare with those of the mother countries. Side by side with these examples of cultural opulence are symptoms of variations which were taking place in the international balance in Europe and America and which were to lead to the great crisis of the War of the Spanish Succession—the scarcities of the treasury, assaults by foreigners on navigation and defenses of the empire, and the growth of the continental and island possessions of the rival nations at the expense of the Iberians.

Meanwhile colleges and printing presses had begun to function in the English continental colonies. French commerce became a powerful competitor of that of Spain and the Indies. At a certain moment, Dutch control in the northeast part of Brazil appeared to be firmly established. It was embellished by works of architecture, painting, and science undertaken under the administration of Maurice of Nassau.

The influence of the Enlightenment operated upon different American areas with a greater synchronism.⁵ The old regime had put down deep roots in the Iberian colonizations and had stagnated in them, although it did not prevent the progress of modern cultural currents. The foundation of scientific academies occurred earlier in the English colonies, and these first achieved political independence and the establishment of republicanism.

In the writings of eighteenth-century European philosophers an idealized image of Anglo-American society prevailed. They saw this society as free of the servitudes of the past, while, on the contrary, they condemned the conquest and administration of the Spaniards, who were presented as absolutists, obscurantists, destroyers of the Indians, monopolists, and, in short, laden with all the vices of the “black legend.”

Aside from this dual philosophical vision of the history of the New World, the reality of the eighteenth century shows a considerable development of the population and the economy in almost all European possessions: urban progress, diffusion of the neoclassical art, reforms of administrative and mercantile systems, imperial rivalries, liens on the treasury, strengthening of military power, and new political ideas.

Max Savelle explains in his book *Seeds of Liberty* and in his work for the Program the evolution of the religious mentality of the eighteenth century to scientific rationalism and describes the social and political circumstances that prepared the way for Anglo-American independence in the same century.

⁵ A clear perception of this period is to be found in the work of Arthur P. Whitaker, *The Western Hemisphere Idea: Its Rise and Decline* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1954), 6–21.

In Hispano-America there took place the administrative, maritime, commercial, military, and fiscal reforms of the Bourbons; the affirmation of Creole life already competing with and resenting the presence of Europeans; the progress marked by civil architecture; a more varied literary production; the appearance of the gazettes; the renewal of scientific interest and of educational establishments. With respect to Brazil, José Honório Rodrigues points out in his work for the Program, with pertinent bibliography, the innovations which appeared in that country in the eighteenth century. These include the expulsion of the Jesuits, which also took place in the Spanish and French domains, the change in policy toward the Indians, the rise of mining, the urban progress of Rio de Janeiro. The arrival of the Portuguese court at the beginning of the following century was accompanied by the opening of the ports and the signing of the treaty of friendship and commerce with England.

Comparing the rhythm of each of the colonial centuries with the others, it may be seen that the eighteenth century introduced into all the hemisphere an acceleration of historical changes and precipitated a state of crisis in the colonial structures. Conflict appeared between new rationalist philosophical ideas and old scholastic traditions, between social hierarchies and ideas of equality, between Europeans and Americans, between regular armies and colonial militia, between monopoly metropolitan treasuries and the colonists' desire for economic liberty, and between monarchist absolutism and sovereignty and representation of the people. Almost all of the movements for reform originated in Europe, but they took particular forms in the colonial societies of the New World.

During the last third of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth, there occurred in Europe and America spectacular changes which included the independence of the United States, which put an end to the colonial past of this area at the end of 170 years; the French Revolution; the Haitian rebellion; the Napoleonic Wars; the emancipating insurrections of the Creoles, mestizos, and Indians in the Spanish Empire; and Brazilian independence (in both Iberian cases, at the end of three hundred years). The nationalistic historiography of America emphasized the contrast between the drama of the struggles for independence and the immobility commonly attributed to the colonial past.

It appears justifiable to affirm that there were generally significant chronological differences in the course of the centuries of European-American dependence. An evolution gradually altered the panorama of the continent in harmony with the dynamism of world events and the growth of American societies.

As the colonial centuries advance, we observe a relative intensification of both the exterior and the interior contacts of America. The general progress in the technique of transportation and the results of territorial exploration gradually drew the empires together. As the distances between them diminished, rivalries were intensified, as may be observed in the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the Amazon, and the Río de la Plata.

Ships of various powers explored the Pacific in the eighteenth century, and Spanish colonists began to receive unexpected visits of the Russians on the California coast at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Continental connections did not remain static, and, at times, brought together zones which had been aloof from each other for a long time. Certain exchanges which formerly functioned under different historical circumstances, as, for example, the navigation route between Mexico and the Philippines, also tended to lose their meaning or to disappear.

In addition to the obvious cases of political contacts, the economic and cultural relations and influences within the New World grew or changed. Ties between America and the other continents also evolved, whether through the dissolution of imperial dependence on Europe or through the appearance of new interests as the rhythm of contemporary technical civilization was accelerated.

These observations corroborate the advisability of rejecting flat or absolute affirmations on the unity or diversity in the history of the New World. It is preferable to retain a flexibility of judgment in order to realize the complexity of the phenomena and their vicissitudes.

From the preceding discussion it appears that the stage of American history which we have been studying was begun by a general impulse that pushed the European countries to the great discoveries and to overseas colonial competition from the end of the fifteenth century onward and that its end was influenced by eighteenth-century European currents which were involved with the independence movements.

The chronological coincidences and divergences that occurred between these two great moments of the beginning and the end of the family of transatlantic empires have been less studied and, outside of the foregoing observations, we should not know how to decide whether they could be placed into categories in order to expound the general history of the New World. It seems to us to be instructive, however, to compare in the colonial centuries the evolution of the European-American societies in a variety of economic, social, political, religious, and cultural aspects.

Politics and the Psyche in *fin de siècle* Vienna: Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal

CARL E. SCHORSKE*

AT the close of World War I, Maurice Ravel recorded in *La valse* the violent death of the nineteenth-century world. The waltz, long the symbol of gay Vienna, became in the composer's hands a frantic *danse macabre*. Ravel wrote: "I feel this work a kind of apotheosis of the Viennese waltz, linked in my mind with the impression of a fantastic whirl of destiny."¹ His grotesque memorial serves as a symbolic introduction to a problem of history: the relationship of politics and the psyche in *fin de siècle* Vienna.

Although Ravel celebrates the destruction of the world of the waltz, he does not initially present that world as unified. The work opens rather with an adumbration of the individual parts, which will compose the whole: fragments of waltz themes, scattered over a brooding stillness. Gradually the parts find each other—the martial fanfare, the vigorous trot, the sweet obbligato, the sweeping major melody. Each element is drawn, its own momentum magnetized, into the wider whole. Each unfolds its individuality as it joins its partners in the dance. The pace accelerates; almost imperceptibly the sweeping rhythm passes over into the compulsive, then into the frenzied. The concentric elements become eccentric, disengaged from the whole, thus transforming harmony into cacophony. The driving pace continues to build when suddenly caesuras appear in the rhythm; the auditor virtually stops to stare in horror at the void created when a major element for a moment falls silent, ceases to act. Partial paralysis of each element weakens the movement, and yet the whole is moving, relentlessly driving as only compulsive three-quarter time can. Through to the very end, when the waltz crashes in a cataclysm of sound, each theme continues to breathe its individuality, eccentric and distorted now, in the chaos of totality.

Ravel's musical parable of a modern cultural crisis, whether or not he knew it, posed the problem in much the same way as it was felt and seen by

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¹ Roland Manuel, *Maurice Ravel*, tr. Cynthia Jolly (London, 1947), 83.

the Austrian intelligentsia of the *fin de siècle*. How had their world fallen into chaos? Was it because the individuals (in Ravel, the musical themes) contained in their own psyche some characteristics fundamentally incompatible with the social whole? Or was it the whole as such that distorted, paralyzed, and destroyed the individuals who composed it? Or again, was there perhaps never a rhythmic social whole at all, only an illusion of unified movement resulting from an accidental articulation of fundamentally incohesive, individuated parts? And if this last, could the illusion of unity be transformed into reality? These questions are not new to human kind, but to Vienna's *fin de siècle* intelligentsia they became central. Not only Vienna's finest writers, but her painters and psychologists, even her art historians, were preoccupied with the problem of the nature of the individual in a disintegrating society. Out of this preoccupation arose Austria's contribution to a new view of man.

Traditional liberal culture had centered upon rational man, whose scientific domination of nature and whose moral control of himself were expected to create the good society. In our century, rational man has had to give place to that richer but more dangerous and mercurial creature, psychological man. This new man is not merely a rational animal, but a creature of feeling and instinct. We tend to make him the measure of all things in our culture. Our intrasubjectivist artists paint him. Our existentialist philosophers try to make him meaningful. Our social scientists, politicians, and advertising men manipulate him. Even our advanced social critics use him, rather than the criterion of rational right, to judge the worth of a social order. Political and economic oppression itself we assess in terms of psychological frustration. Ironically, in Vienna, it was political frustration that spurred the discovery of this now all-pervasive psychological man. His emergence out of the political crisis of Viennese liberal culture provides my theme.

I should like first to delineate briefly the nature and background of the political crises of the *fin de siècle*. Secondly, I shall sketch the principal characteristics of nineteenth-century Viennese liberal culture. Though sharing much with the liberal cultures of other European countries, it had certain features all its own. Strangely divided into ill-reconciled moralistic and aesthetic components, it provided the *fin de siècle* intelligentsia with the intellectual equipment with which to face the crisis of their time. Finally, I should like to examine the different ways in which two leading literary figures, Arthur Schnitzler and Hugo von Hofmannsthal, sought to orient themselves in the crisis of liberal culture and to formulate conceptions of the relationship between politics and the psyche.

Austrian liberalism, like that of most other European nations, had its heroic age in the struggle against aristocracy and baroque absolutism. This ended in the stunning defeat of 1848. The chastened liberals came to power and established a constitutional regime in the 1860's almost by default. Not their own internal strength, but the defeats of the old order at the hands of foreign enemies brought the liberals to the helm of state. From the first they had to share their power with the aristocracy and the imperial bureaucracy. Even during their two decades of rule, the liberals' social base remained weak, confined to the middle-class Germans and German Jews of the urban centers. Increasingly identified with capitalism, they maintained parliamentary power by the undemocratic device of the restricted franchise.

Soon new social groups raised claims to political participation: the peasantry, the urban artisans and workers, and the Slavic peoples. In the 1880's these groups formed mass parties to challenge the liberal hegemony—anti-Semitic Christian Socials and Pan-Germans, Socialists, and Slavic nationalists. Their success was rapid. In 1895, the liberal bastion, Vienna itself, was engulfed in a Christian Social tidal wave. The Emperor, with the support of the Catholic hierarchy, refused to sanction the election of Karl Lueger, the anti-Semitic Catholic mayor. Sigmund Freud, the liberal, smoked a cigar to celebrate the action of the autocratic savior of the Jews. Two years later, the tide could no longer be stemmed. The Christian Social demagogues began a decade of rule in Vienna which combined all that was anathema to classical liberalism: anti-Semitism, clericalism, and municipal socialism. On the national level as well, the liberals were broken as a political power by 1900, never to revive. They had been crushed by modern mass movements, Christian, anti-Semitic, socialist, and nationalist.

This defeat had profound psychological repercussions. The mood which it evoked was one not so much of decadence as of impotence. Progress seemed at an end. The *Neue Freie Presse* saw the expected rational course of history as cruelly altered. The "culture-hostile mass" was victorious before the prerequisites of political enlightenment had been created. In the Mardi Gras of 1897, wrote the *Neue Freie Presse*, the liberals could wear "a false nose [only] to conceal an anxious face. . . . Instead of the gay waltz, one hears only the cries of an excited brawling mob, and the shouts of police trying to disperse [political] antagonists."² Anxiety, impotence, a heightened awareness of the brutality of social existence: these features assumed new centrality in a social climate where the creed of liberalism was being shattered by events.

² *Neue Freie Presse*, Mar. 2, 1897.

The writers of the nineties were children of this threatened liberal culture. What were the values which they had inherited, and with which they would now have to face the crisis? Two groups of values can, I think, be loosely distinguished in the liberal culture of the last half of the century: one moral and scientific, the other aesthetic.

The moral and scientific culture of Vienna's *haute bourgeoisie* can scarcely be distinguished from garden variety Victorianism elsewhere in Europe. Morally it was secure, righteous, and repressive; politically it was concerned for the rule of law, under which both individual rights and social order were subsumed. It was intellectually committed to the rule of the mind over the body and to a latter-day Voltairism: to social progress through science, education, and hard work. The achievements resulting in a few short decades from the application of these values to Austria's legal, educational, and economic life are too often underestimated. But neither the values nor the progress made under them gave the Austrian upper middle class a unique character.

More significant for our concern is the evolution of the aesthetic culture of the educated bourgeoisie after the mid-century, for out of it grew the peculiar receptivity of a whole class to the life of art, and, concomitantly at the individual level, a sensitivity to psychic states. By the beginning of our century, the usual moralistic culture of the European bourgeoisie was in Austria both overlaid and undermined by an amoral *Gefühlskultur*. This development has not been closely studied, and I can only suggest its outline.

Two basic social facts distinguish the Austrian from the French and English bourgeoisie: it did not succeed either in destroying or in fully fusing with the aristocracy; because of its weakness, it remained both dependent upon and deeply loyal to the Emperor as a remote but necessary father protector. The failure to acquire a monopoly of power left the bourgeois always something of an outsider, questing assimilation into the aristocracy. The numerous and prosperous Jewish element in Vienna, with its strong assimilationist thrust, only strengthened this trend.

Direct social assimilation to the aristocracy occurred rarely in Austria. Even those who won a patent of nobility were not admitted, as in Germany, to the life of the imperial court. But assimilation could be pursued along another, more open road: that of culture. This too had its difficulties. The traditional culture of the Austrian aristocracy was far removed from the legalistic, puritanical culture of both bourgeois and Jew. Profoundly Catholic, it was a sensuous, plastic culture. Where traditional bourgeois culture saw nature as a sphere to be mastered by imposed order under divine law, Austrian

aristocratic culture viewed nature as a scene of joy, a manifestation of divine grace to be glorified in art. Traditional Austrian culture was not, like that of the German north, moral, philosophical, and scientific, but primarily aesthetic. Its greatest achievements were in the applied and performing arts: architecture, the theater, and music. The Austrian bourgeoisie, rooted in the liberal culture of reason and law, thus confronted an older aristocratic culture of sensuous feeling and grace. The two elements, as we shall see in Schnitzler, could only form a most unstable compound.

The first phase in the assimilation to aristocratic culture was purely external, almost mimetic. The new Vienna built by the ascendant bourgeoisie of the sixties illustrates it in stone. The liberal rulers, in an urban reconstruction which dwarfs that of Napoleon III's Paris, tried to design their way into a history, a pedigree, with grandiose buildings inspired by a Gothic, Renaissance, or baroque past which was not their own.

A second avenue to aristocratic culture, even more striking than the building spree, lay through the patronage of the traditionally strong performing arts. This form of aristocratic tradition penetrated deeper into the middle-class consciousness than did architecture, for the traditional Viennese folk theater had prepared the ground for it. Vienna's new *haute bourgeoisie* may have begun its sponsorship of classical theater and music in emulation of the Lobkowitzes and Rasoumowskys, but no witness denies that, by the end of the century, it manifested more genuine enthusiasm for these arts than any city in Europe. By the 1890's the culture heroes of the upper middle class were no longer political leaders as of yore, but actors, artists, and critics. The number of professional scribes and amateur literati increased rapidly.

By the end of the century, the function of art for Viennese middle-class society had altered, and in this change politics played a crucial part. If the Viennese burghers had begun by supporting the temple of art as a surrogate form of assimilation into the aristocracy, they ended by finding in it an escape, a refuge from the unpleasant world of increasingly threatening political reality. In 1899 the critic Karl Kraus identified the widened interest in and the commercialization of literature as a political product, a product of "recent years, which have [seen] the sphere of action of Viennese liberalism constricted to the parquets of theaters on opening night."³ Hofmannsthal saw the increased devotion to art as related to the anxiety resulting from civic failure. "We must take leave of a world before it collapses," he wrote in 1905. "Many know it already, and an indefinable [*unnennbares*] feeling makes poets out of many."⁴ Elsewhere in Europe art for art's sake implied

³ *Die Fackel*, I (Apr. 1899), 15.

⁴ Cited in Jakob Laubach, *Hugo von Hofmannsthal's Turmdichtungen* (doctoral dissertation, Freiburg in der Schweiz, 1954), 88.

the withdrawal of its devotees from a social class; in Vienna alone it claimed the allegiance of virtually a whole class, of which the artists were a part. The life of art became a substitute for the life of action. Indeed, art became almost a religion, the source of meaning and the food of the soul, as civic action proved increasingly futile.

One must not conclude that, in its absorption of aesthetic culture, the Viennese bourgeois absorbed the collective sense of caste and function which the aristocracy maintained even in its decadence. The bourgeois, whether as fop, artist, or politician, could not rid himself of his individualistic heritage. As his sense of what Hofmannsthal called *das Gleitende*, the slipping away of the world, increased, the bourgeois turned his appropriated aesthetic culture inward to the cultivation of the self, of his personal uniqueness. This tendency inevitably led to preoccupation with one's own psychic life. It provides the link between the devotion to art and the concern with the psyche. It can be illustrated in the style employed in the avidly read cultural section of the press, the *feuilleton*.

The *feuilleton* writer, an artist in vignettes, worked with those discrete details and episodes so appealing to the nineteenth century's taste for the concrete. But he sought to endow his material with color drawn from his imagination. The subjective response of the reporter or critic to an experience, his feeling-tone, acquired clear primacy over the matter of his discourse. To render a state of feeling became the mode of formulating a judgment. Accordingly, in the *feuilleton* writer's style, the adjectives engulfed the nouns, the personal tint virtually obliterated the contours of the object of discourse.

In an essay written when he was only seventeen, young Theodor Herzl identified one of the chief tendencies in the *feuilleton* writer: narcissism. The *feuilleton* writer, Herzl said, ran the danger of "falling in love with his own spirit, and thus of losing any standard of judging himself or others."⁵ The feuilletonist tended to transform objective analysis of the world into subjective cultivation of personal feelings. He conceived of the world as a random succession of stimuli to the sensibilities, not as a scene of action. The feuilletonist exemplified the cultural type to whom he addressed his columns: his characteristics were narcissism and introversion, passive receptivity toward outer reality, and above all sensitivity to psychic states. This bourgeois culture of feeling conditioned the mentality of its intellectuals and artists, refined their sensibilities, and created their problems.

Let us now bring together the separate strands of cultural and political development as they converged in the nineties. In its attempt at assimilation into the pre-existing aristocratic culture of grace, the educated bourgeoisie

⁵ Alexander Bein, *Theodor Herzl* (Vienna, 1934), 36; cf. 96-97.

had appropriated the aesthetic, sensuous sensibility, but in a secularized, distorted, highly individuated form. Narcissism and a hypertrophy of the life of feeling were the consequence. The threat of the political mass movements lent new intensity to this already present trend by weakening the traditional liberal confidence in its own legacy of rationality, moral law, and progress. Art became transformed from an ornament to an essence, from an expression of value to a source of value. The disaster of liberalism's collapse further transmuted the aesthetic heritage into a culture of sensitive nerves, uneasy hedonism, and often outright anxiety. To add to the complexity, the Austrian liberal intelligentsia did not fully abandon the earlier strand in its tradition, the moralistic-scientific culture of law. The affirmation of art and the life of the senses thereby became, in Austria's finest types, admixed with and crippled by guilt. The political sources of anxiety found reinforcement in the individual psyche through the persistent presence of conscience in the temple of Narcissus.

In Arthur Schnitzler (1862–1931), the two strands of Austrian *fin de siècle* culture, the moralistic-scientific and the aesthetic, were present in almost equal proportions. Schnitzler's father, a prominent physician, destined Arthur for the solid medical career which he pursued for more than a decade. Sharing the Viennese enthusiasm for the performing arts, the senior Schnitzler proudly numbered Vienna's great performers among his patients and friends. But when Arthur contracted in his own home so severe a case of aesthetic fever that he felt the urge to a literary vocation, his father proved himself a mid-century moralist, violently opposing the young man's intentions.

Even as a medical student, Schnitzler was drawn to psychology. He served as assistant in the clinic of Freud's teacher, Meynert, and became expert in hypnotic clinical techniques. Like Freud, Schnitzler felt a profound tension between his paternal inheritance of moralistic values and his modern conviction that the instinctual life demanded recognition as a fundamental determinant of human weal or woe. Again like Freud, he resolved his ambivalence by detaching the scientific outlook from its moralistic matrix and turning it boldly upon the life of instinct. Small wonder that Freud hailed Schnitzler on his fiftieth birthday (1912) as a "colleague" in the investigation of the "underestimated and much-maligned erotic."⁶ Indeed, so strongly did Freud feel his affinity to Schnitzler that he consciously avoided the writer as his "double" (*Doppelgänger*).⁷

⁶ Georg Brandes und Arthur Schnitzler: *Ein Briefwechsel*, ed. Kurt Bergel (Bern, 1956), 29.

⁷ Freud to Schnitzler, May 14, 1922, in Ernest Jones, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud* (3 vols., New York, 1951), III, 443–44; cf. Herbert I. Kupper and Hilda S. Rollman-Branch,

As a Viennese, Schnitzler could readily approach the world of instinct from the social types disclosed to the literary naturalist. Vienna's playboys and *süsse Mädels*, the debonaire sensualists of the age, provided him with the characters of his early works. What he explored in them was the compulsiveness of Eros, its satisfactions, its delusions, and its strange affinity to Thanatos. In the late nineties, after the clear victory of the Viennese anti-Semites, his concern and sympathy for the old moral world grew. He turned from the gay philanderers who mock at moralistic culture to the believing victims of that culture. In *Paracelsus* (1897) and *Frau Bertha Garlan* (1900), he showed how fragile is the hold of morality even upon those most determined to repress their vital instincts in the interests of an orderly, ethical, and purposive social existence. His play, *The Call of Life* (1905), explores the cruelly repressive aspect of conventional culture, but also the futility of the attempt to find satisfaction outside the world of convention in surrender to the instinct of love. The "call of life" is a call to a Dionysian existence, which involves a plunge into the torrent and is thus also a call to death. While Schnitzler inveighed against the moralistic tradition for its failure to understand the instinctual, he also showed, like Freud, the inevitable cruelty to the self and to others which instinctual gratification involves.

In the crisis of liberalism in the mid-nineties, Schnitzler turned to the problem of politics, or rather, to the psyche as manifested in politics. *The Green Cockatoo* (1898) is a brilliant satirical playlet in which the instinctual life of the characters becomes central to their fate in the French Revolution. Schnitzler took no sides for or against the French Revolution, which had lost its historical meaning for him as for so many other late nineteenth-century liberals. He merely used the Revolution as a vehicle for irony about contemporary Austrian society in its current crisis. The upper-class characters of *The Green Cockatoo* are committed to the sensuous existence: some as open sensualists, others as devotees of the theatrical art. The scene and center of the play is a cabaret-theater, where the performances aim at obliterating for the patrons the distinction between play and reality, mask and man. Merely amusing in normal times, in the revolutionary situation this game proves fatal to its devotees. The corruption of art and the art of corruption blend. Stage murder becomes real murder, real murder executed by an actor out of jealousy appears as heroic political murder, the lover-murderer becomes a hero of the irrational revolutionary mob. Too much dedication to the life of the senses has destroyed in the upper class the power to distinguish politics

"Freud and Schnitzler—(*Doppelgänger*)," *Journal of the American Psychoanalytical Association*, VII (Jan. 1959), 109 ff.

from play, sexual aggression from social revolution, art from reality. Irrationality reigns supreme over the whole.

In *The Green Cockatoo* Schnitzler approached the Austrian problem of psyche and society abstractly, lightly, ironically. Almost a decade later, he returned to the problem in a full-length novel, this time treating it concretely, sociologically, seriously. The phenomenon of the disintegration of Austrian liberal society under the impact of anti-Semitism provides the specific historical ground of this novel. Its title, *Der Weg ins Freie*, refers to the desperate attempt of the cultivated younger generation of Viennese to find their way into the clear, their road out of the morass of a sick society to a satisfactory personal existence. Each of the young Jewish secondary characters represents an actual road still open to the Jews when liberalism was being swept away. Each has been diverted from the path which a just society might have left open to him into another road less congenial and at times fundamentally incompatible with his personality. The man of political will becomes a frustrated writer, turning his will inward upon himself to his own destruction; the attractive young Jewess made for a life of love becomes a militant socialist *passionaria*; the young Jew destined by temperament to be an army officer of fine aristocratic cut becomes a Zionist, and so forth. Like the themes in Ravel's *La valse*, each character is distorted from his true self into eccentricity by the frenzied whirling of the whole.

A second group of characters represents the older generation, the purposive, moral, and scientific culture which is in its death throes. Schnitzler views them positively now. It is as if he had made peace with his father. Though their values are anachronistic, no longer relevant to the social-psychological facts of life, the older characters still offer an example of stability, a basis for engagement in constructive work, and even a certain ground for human sympathy. This generation, however, no longer possesses vitality. Schnitzler may view it, as Ravel views Johann Strauss, with nostalgia and warmth, but he sadly sees reality as involving its destruction. His novel shows that instinct has in fact been let loose in the sphere of politics, parliament has become a mere theater through which the masses are manipulated, sexuality has become liberated from the moral code which contained it. Private dances of life whirl more boldly as the public dance of death gains power. Schnitzler is thus suspended between a renewed allegiance to traditional values and a scientific view of modern social and psychological reality which makes those values inapplicable.

It is from the now contradictory perspectives of old morality and new psychology that Schnitzler draws the hero of *Der Weg ins Freie*. Georg von

Wergenthin, at once artist and aristocrat, represents the bourgeois culture hero of the Austrian *fin de siècle*. Through him, Schnitzler illuminates the slow death of an ideal.

Appropriately, Wergenthin is doubly lionized in the circle of Jewish upper bourgeois in which he moves: for his talent as a composer and for his aristocratic grace and pedigree. Although on the surface this society loves his person and encourages his art, it actually reinforces in him, by virtue of its hopeless pluralism, a sense of drift, isolation, and futility. The sensitive Wergenthin reflects in his psychic life the riven and driven condition that characterizes Schnitzler's social panorama. Where the society is a chaos of conflicting value orientations, Wergenthin is its general resultant—a value vacuum.

The incapacity for commitment paralyzes Wergenthin's existence. He dwells in the sterile marchlands of the conscious life: between work and play, between affirmation and negation of his inner drives, between flirtation and love, between aristocratic wisdom and bourgeois rationality. He makes no choices. Schnitzler deftly shows how they are made for him by whatever pressures, social or instinctual, register most strongly upon his seismographic consciousness. In the love of a lower-middle-class girl, Wergenthin very nearly finds salvation. Withdrawing with her from Vienna to an isolated life in Lugano, he begins to compose once more. The commitment in love makes possible a commitment to creative work. But the disintegrating society soon breaks in upon this happy isle, and Wergenthin returns from love and work to aimless drifting. Anna's child enters the world stillborn.

The novel has no real end, the hero no tragic stature. Schnitzler was a prophet without wrath. The scientist in him avenged itself on both the moralist and the artist. As social observer and psychologist he drew the world he saw as necessitous, but not—like the true tragedian—as justified. Morality and the dynamics of both instinct and history were incompatible. Schnitzler could neither condone nor condemn.

Yet his novel has power, I think, as a proclamation of the death of a culture ideal. The breakup of Georg and his artist-sweetheart symbolizes the end of a half century's effort to wed bourgeoisie and aristocracy through aesthetic culture. Schnitzler shows that the historical force compelling recognition of this failure was the rise of antiliberal mass politics. Appropriately, the pure and aesthetic Anna's own brother is a vicious anti-Semite. While she is doomed to a humdrum *petit-bourgeois* existence by her aristocratic lover's weakness, her brother embarks on a promising if hideous political career. As for Georg, he is paralyzed by his own hypertrophied sensibilities,

conscious of being driven by instincts within and an irrational society without. The social aristocrat can no longer control the reality; the aesthetic aristocrat cannot understand it. He can but feel his own impotence in a bourgeois world spinning out of orbit.

Aspiring to tragedy, Schnitzler achieved only sadness. One of his characters observes that there is no *Weg ins Freie* except into the self. Schnitzler, caught between science and art, between commitment to old morals and new feelings, could find no new and satisfying meaning in the self, as did Freud and the expressionists; nor could he conceive a solution to the political problem of the psyche, as Hofmannsthal was to do. A despairing but committed liberal, he posed the problem clearly by shattering illusions. He could not create new faith. As an analyst of Viennese high bourgeois society, however, Schnitzler had no peer among his literary contemporaries. Like Ravel, he understood not merely the traditions of the world of the waltz but also the psychology of its individuals in their increasingly eccentric relation to the dissolving whole. He described as no other has done the social matrix in which so much of twentieth-century subjectivism took form: the disintegrating moral-aesthetic culture of *fin de siècle* Vienna.

We have seen how Schnitzler approached first the psyche, then politics, out of the moral-scientific tradition, and how his commitment to that legacy led him to paint the bankruptcy of the aesthetic-aristocratic ideal. Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874-1929), in contrast to Schnitzler, was reared in the temple of art. From it he broke out into the world of politics and the psyche and sought to revitalize the dying moral and political tradition with the magic of art. Thus the two friends worked with the same problems and the same cultural materials, but from different approaches and with different results.

The Hofmannsthal family was the living embodiment of the bourgeoisie's aesthetic-aristocratic tradition. Hugo's father was a Viennese patrician of the purest die, a true aristocrat of the spirit. Unlike Schnitzler's father, he had no *idée fixe* concerning his son's choice of career, his function in society. What alone mattered was that the boy cultivate his faculties for the optimum enjoyment of refined leisure. The gifted son was consequently reared in a virtual hothouse for the development of aesthetic talent.⁸

Small wonder that the adolescent Hofmannsthal became a young Narcissus, "early ripened and tender and sad."⁹ Quickly absorbing the fashion-

⁸ Hermann Broch has drawn an illuminating comparison between the paternal education of Hofmannsthal, with its leisure orientation, and that of Mozart, whose father trained him in art as a social vocation. "Hofmannsthal und seine Zeit," *Essays*, ed. Hannah Arendt (2 vols., Zürich, 1955), I, 111-13.

⁹ Hugo von Hofmannsthal, "Prolog zu dem Buch Anatol," *Die Gedichte und kleinen Dramen* (Leipzig, 1912), 78.

able poetic and plastic culture of all Europe, his language glowed darkly with purple and gold, shimmered with world-weary mother of pearl. Small wonder too that he became the idol of Vienna's culture-ravenous intelligentsia, young and old. Only Karl Kraus, the city's most acidulous moralist, poured contempt upon "that gem-collector" Hofmannsthal, who "flees life and loves the things which beautify it."¹⁰

How wrong Kraus was, as wrong as Hofmannsthal's admirers! All were deceived by the poet's diction. From the very beginning, the aesthetic attitude was problematical for Hofmannsthal. The dweller in the temple of art, he knew, was condemned to seek the significance of life purely within his own psyche. He suffered acutely from this imprisonment within the self, which permitted no connection with outer reality except that of the passive reception of sensation. In *The Fool and Death* (1893), Hofmannsthal explored the disastrous skepticism, devitalization, and ethical indifference that ensued for the devotee of the "gem-collecting attitude."

In *The Death of Titian* (1892), the poet presented in their own terms the cultists who made art the source of value, but also manifested for the first time his own urge to escape from the aesthetic attitude. A sort of *tableau vivant*, the playlet verges on a rite of the dying god of the cult of beauty. The disciples of Titian, in an atmosphere of stylized richness reminiscent of Pater's *Renaissance*, converse on the aesthetic vision of life given them by the artist now nearing death. The disciples glorify the master for having, through his soul, transfigured nature and man for them. Were it not for him,

We would live on in twilight,
Our life devoid of meaning . . .

as do the vulgar in the city. Although Hofmannsthal renders this cult of beauty with all the warmth of an initiate, his commitment is qualified. He senses danger and, even in this most "aesthetic" of his works, gives that danger voice: for the orthodox of the religion of art, the interpretation of life as beauty brings a terrible dependency. The genius can always see beauty; to him every moment brings fulfillment. But those who know not how to create "must helplessly await the revelation" of the genius. Meanwhile life is drained of vitality:

Our present is all void and dreariness
If consecration comes not from without.

The root of the difficulty is suspected only by the youngest of the dis-

¹⁰ *Die Fackel*, I (Apr. 1899), 25, 27.

ciples, the sixteen-year-old Gianino, to whose beautiful person, as to the young Hofmannsthal, "something maidenly" clings. In a "half-dream," in which so many of Hofmannsthal's own insights were born, Gianino has wandered in the night to a ledge below which sleeping Venice lies. He sees the city through a painter's eyes: an object of pure vision, "nestling whispering in the spangled cloak which moon and tide had cast about her sleep." Then there rises on the night wind the shattering secret that under this visual image life is pulsing—intoxication, suffering, hate, spirit, blood. For the first time Gianino becomes aware of an active, emotionally rich and committed existence. "Life, alive and omnipotent—one can have it, yet be oblivious of it," if one separates oneself from the city.

Titian's other apostles rush to resurrect the *glacis* which separates art and life, and which Gianino's vision threatens to destroy. One explains that under the beautiful and seductive face of the city live ugliness and vulgarity, that distance wisely conceals from Gianino a hideous, dreary world, peopled with beings who do not recognize beauty, who even in their sleep are dreamless. To keep out this gross world, another avers, Titian has built the high fence, through whose luxuriously blooming vines the devotee of beauty shall not see the world directly, but only sense it dimly. Gianino speaks no more, but his attitude finds justification in the dying Titian. The master, in a final burst of insight, cries out, "The God Pan lives!" Fortified by his new dedication to the unity of all life, Titian paints on the eve of his death a canvas in which Pan is the central figure. The painter does not represent Pan the god of life directly, but only as a veiled puppet in the arms of a young girl, a female counterpart of Gianino with his androgynous characteristics, a girl who feels the mystery of the life she holds. The master has pointed the way to the unification of art and life, but he has not passed beyond a traditional mythological representation of its possibility. For Gianino, though he does not say so, even this merely symbolic vision of vitality is not enough. He wants more than symbol. While the other followers of Titian become epigoni, losing the master's connection of traditional artistic achievement and life, Gianino intensifies the aesthete's vision until it drives him through the ornamented pale of beauty to a yearning for life itself, to the horror of his friends who find life outside the pale unthinkable. In the fragment, Gianino-Hofmannsthal's problem is not resolved, but the question that plagued the poet is clearly posed: How shall art transcend mere passive rendering of beauty to achieve a fruitful relationship to the life of the world? More simply put: Where was the escape from the temple of art?

For a decade Hofmannsthal quietly probed the temple walls to find a

secret exit. I cannot here survey his myriad explorations, but let me mention the one most relevant to my subject: art as the awakener of instinct.

In the poem "Idyll on an Ancient Vase Painting," Hofmannsthal tells of the daughter of a Greek vase painter who lives in dissatisfaction with her blacksmith husband. Her childhood memories of the sensuous mythological images drawn by her father arouse a longing for the life of feeling which the work-oriented blacksmith cannot satisfy. At last a centaur comes, and the flame of life leaps up in her. She tries to escape with the centaur and is speared by her husband in the attempt. That is all. Not a very moving story when wrenched from its poetic setting, and yet it has great significance. Hofmannsthal here inverts the attitude of Keats, whom he so much admired. Where Keats in his famous "Ode to a Grecian Urn" arrested and fixed the instinctual life in beauty, Hofmannsthal proceeded from the truth of beauty to reawaken the active instinctual life which had been frozen in art. The "Idyll" marks only the beginning of Hofmannsthal's concern with the life of instinct which led to such magnificent dramas as *Electra* and *Venice Preserved* in the first decade of our century.

I do not mean to imply that Hofmannsthal became some kind of champion of the libido. Far from it. The instinctual for him as for Schnitzler was dangerous, explosive. His contribution was to show that beauty, which his culture had seen merely as an escape from the everyday world, pointed to another world—the ill-defined realm of the irrational. Because he viewed it as dangerous, Hofmannsthal rarely presented the instinctual world directly in contemporary terms, but rather in mythical or historical dress. What he said of Friedrich Hebbel's poetry is true of his own, that it "penetrates us in such a way that the most secret . . . inner depths stir in us and the actually demonic, the natural in us, sounds in dark and intoxicating sympathetic vibration."¹¹ With all its danger, the instinctual element in man, "the natural in us," provided the power whereby one could escape from the prison of aestheticism, from the paralysis of narcissistic sensibility. Engagement in life, Hofmannsthal felt, demands the capacity to resolve, to will. This capacity implies commitment to the irrational, in which alone resolution and will are grounded. Thus affirmation of the instinctual reopened for the aesthete the door to the life of action and society.

How did Hofmannsthal see the great world which he now entered? Modern society and culture seemed to him, as to Schnitzler, hopelessly pluralistic, lacking in cohesion or direction. ". . . the nature of our epoch,"

¹¹ Hofmannsthal to Schnitzler, July 19, 1892, "Briefe an Freunde," *Neue Rundschau*, XLI (Apr. 1930), 512.

he wrote in 1905, "is multiplicity and indeterminacy. It can rest only on *das Gleitende* [the moving, the slipping, the sliding], and is aware that what other generations believed to be firm is in fact *das Gleitende*."¹² The new perception of reality undermined the very efficacy of reason for Hofmannsthal. "Everything fell into parts, the parts again into more parts," says one of his characters, "and nothing allowed itself to be embraced by concepts and more."¹³ Hofmannsthal saw it as the trial of the noblest natures to take into themselves "a wholly irrational mass of the nonhomogeneous, which can become their enemy, their torture."¹⁴ For the poet, this trial was actually the call to his proper function in the modern world: to knit together the disparate elements of the time, to build "the world of relations [*Bezüge*]" among them. The poet would do his unifying work not by imposing law, but by revealing the hidden forms in which the parts of life are bound to each other. Thus the poet, rather like the historian, accepts the multiplicity of things in their uniqueness and reveals the unity in their dynamic inter-relationship. He brings the discordant into harmony through form.

Accordingly, Hofmannsthal abandoned lyric poetry for drama, a literary form more appropriate to the sphere of action and therefore to ethics and politics. Action, grounded now in instinct and taking place in a human scene where no one law holds sway, implies both suffering for the self and becoming the cause of suffering to others. Each man is destiny to other men, and they to him. Thus ethics in Hofmannsthal becomes detached from traditional rational moral law and is subsumed under the life of feeling. Schnitzler's ambivalence between old morality and new reality is not shared by Hofmannsthal. The ethical life is for him a life of continually renewed sensibility, a life creating ever-new forms of relationship.

In the first years of the century, Hofmannsthal repeatedly experimented with approaches to politics in a series of dramas and dramatic sketches not all of which he completed. As in Schnitzler, the break-through of irrationality and demonism in politics posed his basic problem. For the first of his sketches, *Fortunatus and His Sons* (1900-1901), Hofmannsthal explicitly stated his "basic historical-sociological motif: the decadence of parvenu families."¹⁵ The rich ruler is demonically driven to make his power felt, to such a point that his subjects rebel. This relatively simple parable of the abuse of

¹² "Der Dichter und diese Zeit," in Hofmannsthal, *Selected Essays*, ed. Mary Gilbert (Oxford, Eng., 1953), 125-26.

¹³ "Ein Brief," *ibid.*, 109.

¹⁴ Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Eberhard von Bodenhausen, *Briefe der Freundschaft* (Berlin, 1953), 97.

¹⁵ Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Dramen*, ed. Herbert Steiner (4 vols., Frankfurt-a.-M., 1953-58), II, 508.

rulership gives place to a more complex approach in the next political sketch, *King Candaules* (1903). Candaules is a well-established monarch, whose relation to kingship is reminiscent of that of Gianino to art in *The Death of Titian*. Dissatisfied with the "airless, everyday character" of his existence, Candaules longs for the pulsing life of the multitudes in the city. In the attempt to reach it, he commits the "crime against his kingship: the dissolution of the mythical."¹⁶ What had been redemption for Gianino the artist becomes perdition for Candaules the king. Great art, so Hofmannsthal seems to be saying, depends on recognizing the psychological realities of everyday life which can then be embraced in poetic form. Great rulership, however, depends on continued recognition of the primacy of its aesthetic component, of "the form, 'king': the high-priestly, no-longer-human essence, the son of gods. . . ."¹⁷ Thus Hofmannsthal, fighting off Schnitzlerian pessimism, strove to find a concept of rulership that could shape and canalize the irrational in politics. His clue he found in the temple of art. From it he brought to the sphere of political chaos the solution he had found for the problem of the poet's relation to the chaos of modern life—dynamic form.

What does the notion of dynamic form imply for politics? It starts from the assumption that the conflicting energies of individuals and groups must have an outlet. This outlet is not given in abstract rational justice which merely quantifies; the whole psychological man must participate in the political process. Participation here signifies both more and less than the democratic vote of autonomous and equal individuals. It means partaking of what Hofmannsthal called "the ceremony of the whole." Only in a ritual form of politics from which none feels excluded can the inchoate energies of conflicting individuals be harmonized.

This ritualistic concept of politics bears the clear stamp of the Habsburg tradition. In the late Austrian Empire, the imperial office, with its aura of ceremonial formalism, was the only effective focus of civic loyalty. Hofmannsthal may have been inspired by this imperial tradition but he was not limited by it. In his political plays and sketches he showed that hieratic form alone is not enough; the form must contain the living reality of a culture, or it is doomed to break. His message on the desublimation of art in the "Idyll on an Ancient Vase Painting" remained as a warning in his quest for a resublimation of politics.

Hofmannsthal expressed his mature thought on the relationship of politics and the psyche in his greatest drama, *The Tower* (1927). For more than

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 512.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 520.

twenty-five years he worked on this tragedy and embodied in it his experience of the collapse of the Habsburg Empire. The central psychological conflict in *The Tower* is oedipal, between father and son. But the father is a king, the son a poet-prince. Like *Hamlet*, the play is political as well as psychological. The father justifies political repression, as the Austrian liberals had done, by the rationale of order based on law. His subjects, his imprisoned son among them, are excluded from participation in the ceremony of the whole; hence they turn to aggression. Where law ignores instinct, instinct rebels and subverts order. Politics is here psychologized, psychology politicized. The poet-prince, however, masters his aggressions and seeks to redeem the society with a new dynamic form of social order, a form inspired by the unifying, nonrepressive paradigm of art. Where the father justifies his rule by law, the son aspires to a rule by grace. The attempt fails, and the drama ends in tragedy. The masters of political manipulation organize in their own interest the chaos unleashed by the overthrow of the father and his old law. It is too late for a politics based on law alone, too soon for a politics of grace which sublimates instinct. The poet-prince dies, like Hofmannsthal, leaving his message for future generations.

Hofmannsthal and Schnitzler both faced the same problem: the dissolution of the classical liberal view of man in the crucible of Austria's modern politics. Both affirmed as fact the emergence of psychological man from the wreckage of the old culture. Schnitzler approached the problem from the moral and scientific side of the Viennese liberal tradition. His sociological insight was greater than Hofmannsthal's, but his commitment to the dying culture induced in him an autumnal pessimism which deprived his work of tragic power. Hofmannsthal escaped the paralysis of drift which Schnitzler thought to be integral to aesthetic culture, and from which Hofmannsthal himself had suffered. Accepting psychological man no less than Schnitzler, he applied the principles of art to politics. He sought a form in which to canalize rather than to repress the irrational force of feeling. His politics of participation in the ceremony of the whole was tintured with anachronism and led him to tragedy. But his witness to the need for widening the range of political thought and practice to comprehend human feeling as well as rational right posed a central issue for the post-liberal era. Hofmannsthal once observed that the activity of modern poets "stands under the decree of necessity, as though they were all building on a pyramid, the monstrous residence of a dead king or an unborn god."¹⁸ Hofmannsthal, with his Habsburg traditionalism and his daring quest for a politics of sublimation, was perhaps at work on both.

¹⁸ "Der Dichter und diese Zeit," *Selected Essays*, ed. Gilbert, 138.

The Background of Cleveland's Venezuelan Policy: A Reinterpretation

WALTER LA FEBER*

THE policy that Grover Cleveland's second administration formulated in the Venezuelan controversy of 1895-1896 was a direct answer to British encroachments on United States interests in Latin America. Political and business leaders believed these American interests to be economic, strategic, and political. The economic influence on the shaping of Cleveland's policy in this dispute has not received sufficient attention. After the 1893 depression paralyzed the domestic economy, United States attention focused increasingly on Latin America; indeed, it is significant that the controversy occurred during the depths of that business crisis.

American interests, both economic and strategic, were threatened during the 1893-1895 period by ominous British moves in Brazil, Nicaragua, the disputed area in Venezuela itself, and the small island of Trinidad off the Brazilian coast. During the same years Germany and France menaced United States advantages in Brazil and the Caribbean. Gravely concerned, the State Department finally forced a showdown struggle on the issue of the Venezuelan boundary. By successfully limiting British claims in this incident, the United States won explicit recognition of its dominant position in the Western Hemisphere.

This essay attempts to trace two developments: that international dangers motivated the Cleveland administration in formulating its Venezuelan policy; that the economic crisis arising out of the 1893 depression provided the context and played an important role in this policy formulation. This is not to say that the economic influence was the only motivating force, but that this factor, relatively overlooked by previous writers on the subject, greatly shaped the thinking of both the Cleveland administration and key segments of American society.

Five considerations should serve to establish the validity of this interpretation: timing played a key role in that the year 1895 witnessed a convergence of forces which brought the United States into the controversy (after the argument had simmered over half a century) and led it to assert control over the nations of the Western Hemisphere; the Cleveland administration

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and the American business community viewed foreign markets, especially those of Latin America, as providing a solution to the domestic depression; policy makers in Washington believed the Monroe Doctrine to be important primarily for what Secretary of State Richard Olney called its "practical benefits," that is, its potential strategic and economic benefits;¹ the State Department acted unilaterally in the affair, cared little for Venezuelan opinion or advice, and hoped to benefit American interests primarily, not Venezuelan; neither the political situation in the United States nor the newly discovered "psychic crisis" of the 1890's played important roles in key American decisions.

The events leading to the Venezuelan crisis were silhouetted against the somber and ominous background of the 1893-1897 depression. Economic crisis had threatened the United States since 1890 and 1891, when only unexampled American exports had averted financial trouble.² Despite these huge exports, American prices and wages continued their long downward swing which had begun in 1873. By late 1892 and early 1893 business observers recognized that the American economic system had reached a point of maturity which disrupted its relations with the markets of the world.³ Panic struck the weakened nation in the spring of 1893 when the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad and the National Cordage Company collapsed.

Political and social uprisings, which were renewed and intensified by the economic breakdown, forced the Cleveland administration not only to face the problem of reviving a glutted industrial system, but to do so before radical political forces paralyzed the administration's initiative. Labor unrest manifested itself in the marches of Coxey's and Hogan's armies of the unemployed on Washington—marches which highly dramatized the fact that the great American frontier no longer attracted, but even repelled the discontented of the nation—and in the nearly successful attempt of the socialist wing of the American Federation of Labor to control that body. The threat

¹ Olney to Thomas F. Bayard, July 20, 1895, Department of State, Instructions to Great Britain, State Department Archives, National Archives [hereafter cited as SDA]. The note is also in *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States* [hereafter cited as FR] (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1896), I, 545-62.

² Alexander Dana Noyes, *Thirty Years of American Finance* (New York, 1898), 158-59, 200. The best accounts of the effect this depression had on the American economy are Charles Hoffman, "The Depression of the Nineties," *Journal of Economic History*, XVI (June 1956), 137-64; E. H. Phelps Brown with S. J. Handfield-Jones, "The Climacteric of the 1890's," *Oxford Economic Papers*, new ser., IV (Oct. 1952), 266-307; Frank S. Philbrick, "The Mercantile Conditions of the Crisis of 1893," *University Studies of the University of Nebraska*, II (1894-1902), 299-320; W. Jett Lauck, *The Causes of the Panic of 1893* (Boston, 1907); Gerald Taylor White, "The United States and the Problem of Recovery after 1893," doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1938.

³ Noyes, *Thirty Years of American Finance*, 200. For a summary of the factors influencing the new manifest destiny, see Samuel Flagg Bemis, *The Latin American Policy of the United States: An Historical Interpretation* (New York, 1943), 123-24.

posed by restless farmers (and many businessmen) in the West and South compounded the danger of labor dissatisfaction. Among others, James J. Hill and the assistant chairman of the Kansas State Democratic Committee warned Cleveland in 1893 that all the "isms" that had plagued society in the past were "now appearing in an organized and most formidable manner."⁴

Cleveland quickly reacted by calling a special session of Congress to repeal the Silver Purchase Act of 1890. The President hoped that the repeal would stabilize the country on a gold standard. Though this action had little immediate effect on the economy, the administration's reasons for the repeal pointed the way for further ameliorative action. Cleveland and his advisers assumed that the economic problems stemmed not from the lack of circulating medium (as the Populists and silverites charged), but from bad monetary laws and overproduction. Since a powerful Populist-silver bloc in Congress could sidetrack any legislation that would carefully regulate and restrict the amount of paper money, the administration emphasized overproduction as the causative factor of the depression. This, in turn, led to a quest for foreign markets.⁵

In a speech to the New York Chamber of Commerce in November 1893, Secretary of the Treasury John G. Carlisle explained the administration's belief that the gold standard and an expanded foreign trade went hand in hand. Carlisle declared that "our commercial interests are not confined to our own country; they extend to every quarter of the globe, and our people buy and sell in nearly every market of the civilized world. . . . Without exception these prices are fixed in the markets of countries having a gold standard." Carlisle's *Annual Reports* and many of Cleveland's public statements emphasized the administration's belief that foreign trade provided a key to America's economic revival and that the gold standard was necessary for such trade.⁶

Two other developments motivated the Cleveland administration to view

⁴ Hill to Cleveland, June 24, 1893, and J. B. Crouch to Cleveland, June 23, 1893, Grover Cleveland Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

⁵ Alfred Vagts believes the monetary situation directly affected Cleveland's Venezuelan policy since the policy not only silenced silverite expansionists temporarily, but also attempted to keep England away from Venezuelan gold fields which American interests had claimed. Alfred Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten in der Weltpolitik* (New York, 1935), 510, 1257.

⁶ Quoted in James A. Barnes, *John G. Carlisle: Financial Statesman* (New York, 1931), 299-302. See especially Carlisle's *Annual Report* of 1894 in which he declared that American "prosperity . . . depends largely" upon the ability of the United States to sell its "surplus products in foreign markets at remunerative prices." *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury* (Washington, D. C., 1894), lxxii-lxxiii. See also Cleveland's letter to the Chicago Businessmen's Meeting, quoted in *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, Apr. 20, 1895, 690; the President's letter to J. M. Stone, governor of Mississippi, Apr. 26, 1895, Cleveland Papers; and Carlisle's letter to Secretary of the Interior Hoke Smith, Aug. 11, 1894, *ibid.*

enlarged foreign trade as a means to end the depression: the withdrawal of British investments and the closing of the American frontier. American political and business leaders believed the exodus of British capital from the United States to be a basic cause of the panic.⁷ When the repeal of the Silver Purchase Act failed to attract new foreign investments, the administration and the business community turned to the hope of a large foreign trade surplus as a replacement for the withdrawn capital. Such a trade balance would not only provide fresh capital to invigorate stagnant American industries, but newly found markets would revive these industries to a point where they would again be appealing to outside investors.⁸

Cleveland and others in influential positions coupled this view of foreign capital with the belief that a mature American system had finally absorbed its western frontier. They viewed this occurrence with alarm.⁹ Cleveland made special mention of this in his annual message in 1893 and later attempted to reopen western lands that had been claimed by speculators.¹⁰ Obviously, if the closed frontier had been a leading cause in the glutting of the home market, the Republican protective tariff had to be revised. The Democrats thus proposed a tariff that they believed would stimulate the movement of domestic surpluses into world markets.¹¹

In this desire to reinvigorate production instead of redistributing goods, Cleveland asked for a tariff bill that would include a long list of free raw materials.¹² He believed that if these industrial essentials entered the United States tariff-free, "the world [would] be open to our national ingenuity and enterprise." He related this hope of world markets to the growing labor unrest by noting that "the limited demand for . . . goods" on a "narrow mar-

⁷ *A Compilation of Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897*, ed. James D. Richardson (10 vols., Washington, D. C., 1900), IX, 402; R. H. Inglis Palgrave, "An English View of Investment in the United States," *Forum*, XV (Apr. 1893), 191-200. *Banker's Magazine*, XLIX (Aug. 1894), 97-98, supplements Cleveland's and Palgrave's views.

⁸ See again Carlisle's remarkable analysis in his 1894 *Annual Report*, lxxii-lxxiii; see also A. D. Noyes, "Methods and Leadership in Wall Street Since 1893," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, I (Nov. 1931), 3-4. A lack of markets for capital, not a lack of capital, caused the 1893-1897 depression in the United States. The administration paradoxically attempted to attract foreign capital at the same time American investors placed their money in foreign markets. (See the discussion of United States investments in Latin America below.) This attitude can probably be traced to such vital sections of the American economy as railroads and cotton and wheat exporters—groups that believed the London Stock Exchange to be the best indicator of economic prosperity. Also, these years marked the early stage of the transitional period when control of the international money market swung from London to New York.

⁹ See Lee Benson, "The Historical Background of Turner's Frontier Essay," *Agricultural History*, XXV (Apr. 1951), 59-82; Herman Clarence Nixon, "The Precursors of Turner in the Interpretation of the American Frontier," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXVIII (Jan. 1929), 83-89; John R. Procter, "America's Battle for Commercial Supremacy," *Forum*, XVI (Nov. 1893), 320-22.

¹⁰ *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, ed. Richardson, IX, 454, 661-62.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 459; *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury* (Washington, D. C., 1893), lxxx-lxxxi; see also Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten*, 1257.

¹² See the excellent observations by Frank W. Taussig in "Rabbeno's American Commercial Policy," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, X (Oct. 1895), 109.

ket" inevitably led to industrial stagnation.¹³ Carlisle expressed it more succinctly: "The demand for labor would steadily grow with the extension of trade."¹⁴

Cleveland's two congressional leaders, William L. Wilson of West Virginia in the House and Roger Q. Mills of Texas in the Senate, shared these opinions. Wilson introduced the tariff by observing that it had been devised "in the shadow and depression of a great commercial crisis." He declared that the free raw materials clauses would lead to "the enlargement of markets for our products in other countries, the increase in the internal commerce and in the carrying trade of our own country." All these factors would "insure a growing home market." In effect, Wilson believed that the United States had to rebuild its home market by enlarging its foreign market.¹⁵ Mills echoed Wilson's statements, then added a new note by declaring that Great Britain would have to suffer economic setbacks since she blocked the path of America's economic manifest destiny. Mills believed that the British "saw with alarm the triumph of Mr. Cleveland as the representative of commercial expansion."¹⁶ Many other congressmen repeated these arguments during the tariff debates.¹⁷

A group of protectionist senators gathered support to defeat the House bill and to substitute a quasi-protectionist measure of its own. This tariff measure resulted mainly from the lobbying of several trusts and from political and personal hatred for Cleveland. But during the congressional debate, the President continually reiterated the importance of the raw materials provisions. In disgust, he finally allowed the bill to become law without his signature, though only three free raw materials remained in the measure.¹⁸

The American business community followed the example of the administration in attempting to devise new means of expanding its foreign commerce. The depression reached its deepest trough in 1894-1895 as exports, especially staple agricultural products, failed to revive the economy. Business circles recognized this condition and called for drastic measures. The *Banker's*

¹³ *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, ed. Richardson, IX, 459. It is important to note that Cleveland had wagered his political life on the tariff issue in his first administration, but did not emphasize this raw materials argument as he did after the 1893 depression struck. See *ibid.*, VIII, 589, 776.

¹⁴ *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury*, 1893, lxxx-lxxxi.

¹⁵ *Congressional Record*, 53 Cong., 2 sess., XXVI, pt. 9, Appendix, 193-96 (Jan. 8, 9, 1894); Frank W. Taussig, *The Tariff History of the United States* (7th ed., New York, 1923), 309; Festus P. Summers, *William L. Wilson and Tariff Reform* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1953), 172-74.

¹⁶ Roger Q. Mills, "The Wilson Bill," *North American Review*, CLVIII (Feb. 1894), 235-44.

¹⁷ See *Congressional Record*, 53 Cong., 2 sess., XXVI, pts. 1, 2, 945 (Jan. 17, 1894), 776 (Jan. 12, 1894), 643 (Jan. 10, 1894), 1422 (Jan. 25, 1894), and Appendix, 79 (Jan. 16, 1894).

¹⁸ See esp. *ibid.*, 53 Cong., 2 sess., XXVI, pt. 8, 7712 (July 19, 1894). Cleveland's letters sharply criticizing protectionist senators are in *Letters of Grover Cleveland, 1850-1908*, ed. Allan Nevins (New York, 1933), 363, 365-66.

Magazine declared, "Small exports and agricultural depression are, therefore, now the chief remaining obstacles to a return of general prosperity."¹⁹ The *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* concurred, stating that the "abnormal situation of the Treasury and of our foreign trade" had halted the growth of prosperity "several times" in 1894.²⁰ Perhaps Henry W. Cannon, president of the Chase National Bank, best summarized the American business community's position when he wrote in February 1895, "It is necessary, in order to restore complete prosperity, that we should compete in the markets of the world with our goods and commodities."²¹ The New York correspondent of the *Economist* bluntly warned in September 1895: "Either goods or gold must go abroad to pay for our purchases there, and thus far this autumn our shipments . . . have not equalled expectations."²² One authority explicitly prescribed the cure. A. S. Heidelbach, the senior member of a large international banking firm in New York, declared that in order to stop the gold outflow, merchandise exports would have to exceed merchandise imports by "at least" \$350,000,000 per year. Some disputed his figures, but few disputed his solution.²³

Unfortunately for the prospects of such a trade surplus, American agriculture, the main prop of the export trade, could not bear such a burden. Though the volume of exports for the 1894 fiscal year had been surpassed only twice before in American history, the four leading staples of the export trade—breadstuffs, provisions, cotton, and oil products—had decreased in value by almost six million dollars. This occurred because in order to find markets their producers had to accept extremely low prices, in some cases the lowest in history.²⁴

Several astute observers, however, saw hope in these export tables. Worthington C. Ford, chief of the Bureau of Statistics, published an article in the summer of 1895 entitled "The Turning of the Tide."²⁵ Ford demonstrated

¹⁹ *Banker's Magazine*, XLIX (Nov. 1894), 326; see also *Bradstreet's: A Journal of Trade, Finance and Public Economy*, Feb. 16, 1895, 99. Henry L. Bryan of the State Department sent newspaper clippings to Ambassador Bayard in London (Aug. 23, 1895) which illustrated the great interest in increasing American export trade. Even some protectionist papers pointed out the need for more exports and thus opposed revising the 1894 tariff. Thomas F. Bayard Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

²⁰ *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, Jan. 5, 1895, 9.

²¹ J. Sterling Morton, William M. Spring, and Henry W. Cannon, "The Financial Muddle," *North American Review*, CLX (Feb. 1895), 129-56, esp. 151. Another banker and merchant, A. B. Farquhar, said essentially the same thing to his good friend Cleveland (Nov. 9, 1894, Cleveland Papers).

²² *Economist*, Sept. 21, 1895, 1244.

²³ Alfred S. Heidelbach, "Why Gold Is Exported," *Forum*, XVIII (Feb. 1895), 647-51; see also *Yale Review*, IV (Aug. 1895), 136; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, Mar. 30, 1895, 542-43.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, July 21, 1895, 93-95.

²⁵ Worthington C. Ford, "The Turning of the Tide," *North American Review*, CLXI (Aug. 1895), esp. 188-95.

that while exports of farm staples had slumped, American manufactured exports had rocketed to all-time highs. He emphasized this change by noting that the United States had imported less food in 1895, but that "more raw materials for domestic industries" had arrived.

Business journals quickly drew the lesson from such trade figures. *Banker's Magazine* and *Bradstreet's*, among others, declared that American agriculture could no longer compete with the newly exploited grain lands of Argentina and Russia.²⁶ The former journal foretold the consequences for the American economy: henceforth the United States must depend upon "our future manufacturing supremacy over Europe" rather than upon American "producers of food, feed, and raw materials." When this occurred, the business community's dream would be realized. There would be no more booms followed by depressions, but "slow and steady improvement . . . and our surplus manufacturing capacity turned to the production of goods we may be able to export hereafter at reduced cost and thus keep all our industries permanently employed, as England does, having the world's markets in which to unload any accumulation."²⁷

In his article Ford further observed that this change in the nature of American trade had "political consequences," for it meant that the United States would need markets in the underindustrialized nations of Latin America and Asia rather than in Europe.²⁸ Translating these words into action, the American business community began systematically opening Latin American markets. Business journals devoted much space to the promotion of a Nicaraguan canal; *Bradstreet's* called for the immediate formal abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.²⁹ American investment, composed mainly of surplus capital accumulated from the home market's collapse, flowed into Latin America in increased amounts during the 1893-1898 period. New steamship lines, heavy investments in Latin American railroads, the movement of American bankers into Santo Domingo, and the expansion of the Guggenheim interests in Mexico exemplified this southward advance of the dollar.³⁰ The investor moved southward with a minimum of fanfare, but the

²⁶ *Banker's Magazine*, XLVIII (Mar. 1894), 649-50; *ibid.*, XLIX (Dec. 1894), 31-32; *Bradstreet's*, Apr. 27, 1895, 259; *ibid.*, Oct. 26, 1895, 674; *Economist*, Mar. 3, 1894, 273.

²⁷ *Banker's Magazine*, XLIX (Nov. 1894), 326-28; *ibid.* (Oct. 1894), 249. See especially the article in the *Baltimore Sun* of May 27, 1895, by Frederic Emory, a member of the State Department. Emory explained how manufactured products would have to replace raw materials as the backbone of United States exports. Copy in Bayard Papers.

²⁸ Ford, "Turning of the Tide," 93-95.

²⁹ *Economist*, Sept. 7, 1895, 1179; *Bradstreet's*, Dec. 28, 1895, 820.

³⁰ Bureau of American Republics, *Special Bulletin* (Washington, D. C., Aug. 1896), 839-42; *ibid.* (May 1896), 626-27; *ibid.* (Sept. 1895), 145; James Morton Callahan, *American Foreign Policy in Mexican Relations* (New York, 1932), 508; *Bradstreet's*, Jan. 5, 1895, 14. By 1897 American investments in Cuba, the West Indies, Central and South America (excluding Mexico)

manufacturer invaded Central and South America with the cheers of commercial manifest destiny ringing in his ears.³¹

James G. Blaine's intense interest in Latin American markets and tranquillity, symbolized by the Pan-American Conference of 1889, had directed American commercial attention to the southern nations. But the stagnation of 1893-1895 increased and sharpened the business community's interest. Before 1893 Blaine had led, and the businessmen had willingly followed. But after 1893 the businessmen played at least an equal role in focusing attention southward and in some instances blazed paths that the State Department then followed in formulating Latin American policies.

This intensified expansion of American industrialists into Latin American markets can be illustrated by three developments: the growth of and interest in expositions held in the southern United States, the development of commercial museums, and the formation and growth of the National Association of Manufacturers. Encouraged by such business journals as *Dixie* and the *Chattanooga Tradesman*, the South held several large industrial expositions during the depression.³² The chairman of the Atlanta Exposition of 1895 informed Secretary of State Olney that "the foreign trade idea is the basic and uppermost feature of the Exposition."³³ Olney and his predecessor in the State Department, Walter Quintin Gresham, encouraged this exposition, while President Cleveland and several members of his cabinet found time to visit it.³⁴

The full bloom of the commercial museum movement appeared in the flowering of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum in 1894-1897. New York City soon followed this example. Secretaries of State Gresham and Olney again displayed much interest. Speaking at the opening of the Philadelphia museum in June 1897, Olney declared that economic solidarity in the Western Hemisphere was "inevitable." American industrialists strove to make this prediction come true, for the president of the museum, William Pepper, wrote Olney in 1895 that he was "surprised and gratified at the rapid spread of interest" shown by United States industrialists.³⁵

amounted to \$108,000,000. Cleona Lewis, *America's Stake in International Investments* (Washington, D. C., 1938), 606; see also Hoffman, "The Depression of the Nineties," 156-57.

³¹ See *Bradstreet's*, Apr. 27, 1895, 270; *Banker's Magazine*, XLIX (Mar. 1895), 498; *Public Opinion*, XVII (May 17, 1894), 159.

³² The *Tradesman* believed that "if the South shall push her advantages . . . her ports will soon have a monopoly of many lines of trade with the West Indies, Central and South America." Quoted in *Bradstreet's*, July 7, 1894, 430.

³³ J. W. Avery to Olney, Nov. 8, 1895, Richard Olney Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

³⁴ *Public Opinion*, XVIII (Apr. 25, 1895), 436-37; *Bradstreet's*, Dec. 21, 1895, 808.

³⁵ Pepper to Olney, Aug. 2 and Nov. 29, 1895, Olney Papers; Philadelphia Commercial Museum, *The Philadelphia Commercial Museum: What It Is, Why It Is* (Philadelphia, 1899);

After the panic struck, the most publicized and concerted movement for the systematic opening of Latin American markets arose from the formation of the National Association of Manufacturers in January 1895. The depression operated as a direct cause of this movement, and the association's first convention met for the avowed purpose of enlarging the Latin American trade of the United States.³⁶ Three themes dominated that convention: the need for foreign, especially South and Central American markets; a strong anti-British feeling, revealed in bitter references to British control of international trade and finance; and the hope that the federal government would provide favors to American businessmen which would encourage overseas economic expansion.³⁷ After the convention the NAM sent a group of American industrialists and financiers to inspect potential market areas in Latin America. In 1897 the association established its first sample warehouse in Caracas, Venezuela.³⁸

By late 1895 a concise economic analysis had led both the American business community and the administration to the conclusion that the United States industrial system needed more Latin American markets. Such a conclusion suggested that any expansion of European (especially British) influence in the area endangered not only America's security, but also its economic and political well-being.

In 1894 and 1895 these dynamic American policies clashed with expanding European claims in Brazil, Nicaragua, and Trinidad, a small island off the Brazilian coast. A revolution erupted in Brazil in September 1893. Rebels, led by promonarchist groups, hoped to end the four-year-old republic and restore the empire. But most important for American-Brazilian commercial relations, the insurgents included elements desiring to abrogate Brazil's reciprocity treaty with the United States—the most important one the United States possessed.³⁹ The rebels planned to cut off all outside aid to the besieged

Olney's speech is dated June 2, 1897 (Olney Papers). For testimony to Gresham's interest in the commercial museum movement, see Pepper to Bayard, Aug. 11, 1895, Bayard Papers.

³⁶ See Albert Kleckner Steigerwalt, "The National Association of Manufacturers: Organization and Policies, 1895-1914," doctoral dissertation on microfilm, University of Michigan, 1953, 24-26, 381; also National Association of Manufacturers, *Purposes of the National Association of Manufacturers* (Philadelphia, 1896).

³⁷ For the best summary of these themes, see Steigerwalt, "The National Association of Manufacturers," 41-42, 51-53.

³⁸ National Association of Manufacturers, *A Commercial Tour to South America*, Apr. 25, 1896; National Association of Manufacturers, *Sample Warehouse for American Goods in Caracas, Venezuela* (2d ed., Philadelphia, 1897).

³⁹ American action in the Brazilian revolt of 1893-1894 is analyzed in detail in Walter LaFeber, "American Depression Diplomacy and the Brazilian Revolution, 1893-1894," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XL (Feb. 1960). See also James Lawrence Laughlin and H. Parker Willis, *Reciprocity* (New York, 1903), 208.

government by blockading the harbor of Rio de Janeiro; indeed, they had placed all their hopes of success in this one embattled area. Secretary of State Gresham did little more in the early months of the revolution than promulgate the rule that American merchants and traders could continue their commerce with Rio harbor unless their ships crossed the line of fire.⁴⁰

Suddenly, in December 1893, the revolutionary cause grew stronger when a key Brazilian admiral, known for his promonarchist views, defected to the insurgents. Thus reinforced, the rebels announced that they would prevent all incoming trade from unloading in Rio harbor. This meant that all foreign ships would encounter "lines of fire." When German and British business interests endorsed the new rebel stand, the State Department feared that if the insurgent policy succeeded, American trading interests would lose their favored position.⁴¹ Influenced by urgent letters from United States exporters, especially Crossman Brothers of New York and Standard Oil President William Rockefeller, and guided by his own fervent belief that American industry needed more foreign markets, Gresham reversed his position in early January 1894.⁴² Sending a strong naval force to Rio harbor, the Secretary of State instructed the commander to protect with force the landing of American goods. This was accomplished, and the revolution collapsed. American congressional leaders, applauding Gresham's policy, portrayed Great Britain as the culprit in the rebellion. The republic had not only been saved from a monarchist-inspired plot, but United States commercial interests (as the American minister to Brazil was quick to point out) had preserved intact their private inroads into the Brazilian market. The German minister to Brazil remarked, "The American dollar started to roll in order to break off the monarchist point of the revolution."⁴³

Several months after the failure of this revolt, Gresham peacefully but firmly ejected British interests from the Mosquito Indian reservation in Nicaragua. This reservation occupied a crucial area, for it governed the eastern entrance to the proposed Nicaraguan canal. During the summer of 1894 the British hesitated leaving the region as they claimed that under an 1860 treaty they had obtained rights to protect the Indians from Nicaraguan injustices.

⁴⁰ Gresham to Thomas S. Thompson, American minister to Brazil, Nov. 1, 1894, Instructions to Brazil, SDA.

⁴¹ Gresham to Bayard, Dec. 18, 1893, Instructions to Great Britain, SDA.

⁴² Gresham to Isidor Straus, Jan. 6, 1894, Letterbooks, Walter Quintin Gresham Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Rockefeller to Gresham, Jan. 4, 1894, Area 4 file, Navy Department Archives, National Archives [hereafter cited as NDA]. For Gresham's ardent belief in the need of foreign markets for the American industrial glut, see Gresham to Wayne MacVeagh, May 7, 1894, and Gresham to Judge Charles E. Dyer, May 2, 1894, both in Letterbooks, Gresham Papers; also Matilda Gresham, *Life of Walter Quintin Gresham, 1832-1895* (2 vols., Chicago, 1919), II, 797-98. For an opposing view of Gresham, see Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten*, 1918.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 1699-1700. On the effect of the American action, see *ibid.*, 1700; Lawrence F. Hill, *Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Brazil* (New York, 1932), 208.

Gresham disagreed and exerted continuous pressure on the British Foreign Office; in the fall of 1894 the British surrendered their position.⁴⁴

The American press disliked England's reluctance to leave this key area. When in the spring of 1895 British warships blockaded the Nicaraguan port of Corinto, American public and official opinion became aroused. An injury to a British citizen suffered during the 1894 trouble brought about the blockade. The State Department admitted the British right of blockade when it announced that the Monroe Doctrine had no relevance to the situation.⁴⁵ But American press and business circles, concerned over the future safety of an American-owned canal, deprecated the possibility that Great Britain would continue to rule over four million dollars worth of mushrooming American investment in bananas, timber, and inland trade in the reservation area.⁴⁶ Gresham shared this alarm, for although he disavowed the pertinence of the Monroe Doctrine, he nevertheless expressed deep concern to American Ambassador Bayard in London.⁴⁷ Then, with two strokes, the Secretary of State brought the reservation under United States control. First, Gresham implicitly agreed to protect the expanding American investments in the territory from Nicaraguan injustices. Second, he informed the British ambassador in Washington that henceforth the State Department would assume Britain's duties of guarding the rights of the mosquito Indians.⁴⁸ By doing so, Gresham replaced England's control with that of the United States.

As Venezuelan matters moved to a climax in 1895, other British actions increased American apprehension. The Foreign Office attempted to force Nicaragua to reopen the delicate reservation problem. Though the outstanding points were soon settled, Alvey A. Adee, Second Assistant Secretary of State, told Olney that this irritation was "an important indication of the drift of British policy."⁴⁹ England further worried Washington by occupying the island of Trinidad; it hoped to use this uninhabited jut of rock off the Bra-

⁴⁴ Gresham to American minister to Nicaragua, Lewis Baker, June 13, 1894, Instructions to Central America, SDA; Gresham to Bayard, May 2, 1894, Letterbooks, Gresham Papers; Bayard to Gresham, May 28, 1894, Dispatches from Great Britain, SDA.

⁴⁵ This episode and the reaction of American policy makers is best outlined in a "memorandum" prepared for Olney dated August 10, 1895, in the Olney Papers. See also Gresham to Bayard, Apr. 24, 1895, Instructions to Great Britain, SDA.

⁴⁶ See *Review of Reviews*, XI (June 1895), 621-22; W. T. Stead, "Jingoism in America," *Contemporary Review*, LXVIII (Sept. 1895), 338; *Public Opinion*, XVIII (May 9, 1895), 502.

⁴⁷ "Memorandum" enclosed in State Department's files with cable from Baker to Gresham, Dispatches from Central America, Apr. 13, 1895, SDA.

⁴⁸ See especially Gresham's actions in restoring the rights of the Maritime Canal Company in Nicaragua and the protection he gave two American citizens who should have been dealt with by Nicaraguan law for attempting to lead a revolution in the reservation against Nicaraguan authorities: *Nicaraguan Canal . . .* (*Senate Executive Document*, No. 184, 54 Cong., 2 sess., 1897), 96-97; Gresham to Baker, Aug. 4, 1894, Instructions to Central America, SDA; see also Wilfred Hardy Callcott, *The Caribbean Policy of the United States, 1890-1920* (Baltimore, 1942), 77-78.

⁴⁹ Note penned by Adee on dispatch from Baker to Olney, Nov. 18, 1895, Dispatches from Central America, SDA.

zilian coast as a cable station. The American press loudly supported Brazil's protests. Adee wrote Olney that "the newspaper men are wild about the Trinidad business."⁵⁰ Under scrutiny of the State Department, Brazil and England reached an agreement in 1896.

Britain's multiplying claims in the Western Hemisphere caused Adee to exclaim to Olney in August 1895 that the British were playing a "grab game" throughout North and South America.⁵¹ But France also gave the State Department concern. In mid-1895 France and Venezuela severed relations over the French minister's alleged insult of the Venezuelan government. The United States stepped into the dispute and attempted to restore diplomatic connections. Bayard explained the State Department intervention when he wrote in August 1895 that the dispute was "of present interest" when viewed in "connection with the status of the existing Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary dispute."⁵²

This situation had cooled when France attempted to occupy some 155,000 square miles of Brazil shortly after gold was discovered in the region. France had previously claimed the area, but had never forcibly tried to govern it. Olney and Bayard watched proceedings closely and even discussed the contingencies that might occur in case the United States assumed "a supervision of Brazilian boundaries, should French interests or ambitions prompt their invasion."⁵³ French and American interests also clashed in Santo Domingo. France demanded that the customs houses of the Caribbean nation guarantee a reparation payment which the French had demanded as a result of the murder of one of their citizens. A group of New York bankers shared the control of these customs houses and quickly asked for State Department aid. When a French naval squadron arrived at Santo Domingo, American Secretary of the Navy Hilary Herbert promptly instructed United States warships to proceed to the area and "watch carefully" over American interests. Fortunately the matter was soon adjusted.⁵⁴

Congress and the Cleveland administration responded vigorously to these European encroachments. The character of this response can be briefly ana-

⁵⁰ Adee to Olney, Aug. 2, 1895, Olney Papers.

⁵¹ Adee to Olney, Aug. 19, 1895, *ibid.*

⁵² Bayard to Olney, Aug. 8, 1895, Dispatches from Great Britain, SDA. German financiers were active in Venezuela during the 1890's (Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten*, 1525-29). Olney, Gresham, Cleveland, and key personnel in the State Department paid little attention to this infiltration, judging from their papers and diplomatic correspondence.

⁵³ Bayard to Olney, Oct. 25, 1895, Dispatches from Great Britain, SDA.

⁵⁴ Explanatory memorandum sent by Santo Domingo's chargé in Washington to the State Department, Feb. 5, 1894, Confidential Correspondence, NDA; Secretary of the Navy to Rear Admiral R. W. Meade, Mar. 9, 1895, *ibid.* German and American interests had clashed in Santo Domingo and Haiti before 1893. The State Department became active in pressuring Germany out of the area only after 1897. See Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten*, 1707-1709, 1788-93.

lyzed in the following incidents and personages: a congressional debate in the winter of 1894-1895 on the best means of protecting and expanding American commerce abroad; the naval appropriation debates of 1895 and 1896; a speech by Don Dickinson in May 1895; recognition by influential Americans that the Orinoco River was a vital pawn in the Venezuelan boundary dispute; Olney's concepts of American economic needs and power; statements of Cleveland and Olney during the Venezuelan boundary negotiations.

In the winter of 1894-1895 Congress became the center of an extended debate over American expansion into commercial and strategic areas and over the evolution of an anti-British policy. Henry Teller, leader of the Senate's silver bloc, sounded the keynote when he called England "our great commercial antagonist."⁵⁵ Conservative Nelson Aldrich of Rhode Island concurred as he warned that "there is a commercial warfare . . . going on among the great nations of the world for enlarged markets" and added that the United States could not "sit down silently and submissively."⁵⁶ In the House, Leonidas F. Livingston of Georgia proposed a resolution requesting Cleveland to invoke "friendly arbitration" to solve the Venezuelan-British Guiana boundary dispute. When weak opposition to the proposal appeared, William J. Coombs of New York quickly silenced it by replying, "Large American interests will be promoted by a friendly settlement of this question." Livingston added that the Orinoco River played a crucial role in the problem. Great Britain's claims endangered this waterway, which provided "the key to more than one-quarter of the South American continent." Livingston capped his argument by bluntly remarking, "This relates to a matter on our [*sic*] continent. Our trade and other relations with those people are involved in this settlement."⁵⁷ It is difficult to find much altruistic concern for Venezuela in this debate.

During this and the 1895-1896 session, Congress passed naval appropriation measures that provided money for the continued construction of the new American battleship fleet. The first three battleships had been authorized in 1890, and another had been added in 1892. Congress accelerated the construction program in 1895 and 1896 when it authorized the construction of five more battleships. Significantly, Congress provided money to begin building

⁵⁵ The essence of the debate is in the *Congressional Record*, 53 Cong., 3 sess., XVII, pt. 1, 157-626, *passim* (Dec. 1894-Jan. 1895).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pt. 3, 1889 (Feb. 7, 1895).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 1832-34. William Scruggs, former United States minister to Venezuela, had been hired by the latter country to interest the United States in the dispute. Livingston's introduction of the House resolution was one result of Scruggs's work. The interesting fact, however, is the argument used to support the resolution in debate.

these vessels even though the Treasury suffered from an acutely depressed condition.

The cry for both commercial expansion and protection against British encroachments appeared frequently in these naval debates. Senator Orville Platt of Connecticut noted the importance of the frontier's closing when he declared: "It is to the ocean that our children must look, as they have once looked to the boundless West." Senator Anthony Higgins of Delaware urged the building of more battleships with the argument that the necessity of United States commercial expansion would have serious implications for the potency of the Monroe Doctrine and "the suzerainty of the American Republic over both American hemispheres."⁵⁸ Robert Adams, Jr., of Pennsylvania, an important member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, was more specific: he announced that the Monroe Doctrine had become not only a political principle, but a notice to all nations that the American people would brook "no foreign interference either in the political affairs or the commercial relations of this hemisphere." Adams observed that Gresham's intervention in Brazil showed how the United States would have to uphold its new interpretation of Monroe's dictum.⁵⁹ J. Fred Talbott of Maryland, chairman of the House Naval Affairs Committee, declared that the American navy had to dominate the Western Atlantic and Eastern Pacific; if anyone disagreed with this proposition, he "was not worthy to represent his people in this Congress." Talbott pointed to the enemy when he said, "Great Britain never arbitrates with anybody except one who is ready to fight her."⁶⁰ John Van Voorhis of New York added that the United States could take care of itself, but that he wanted battleships to protect Latin America from Great Britain.⁶¹ By 1896 such arguments had silenced almost all previous opposition to the building of a battleship fleet.⁶²

Perhaps a speech delivered in May 1895 by Don Dickinson, a leader of the Democratic forces in Michigan and a close friend of President Cleveland, provided the most widely publicized commercial argument for American action in the Venezuelan dispute. One student of this episode calls Dickinson's speech "the most notable incident . . . indicating the desire of the Cleveland Democrats to assert their own lusty patriotism."⁶³ It should be

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 3045, 3109; see also *ibid.*, 1950, 2259, 3043.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 2307, 3106.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 2310-II.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 3105-3106.

⁶² This is illustrated by the action of the Quaker bloc in the House. Prior to 1896 this group opposed battleship appropriations. In the 1896 debates, however, one of the Quaker leaders, John B. Robinson of Pennsylvania, rose, quoted Tennyson's vision of universal peace, and then asked for four battleships. *Ibid.*, 3249.

⁶³ Nelson W. Blake, "The Background of Cleveland's Venezuelan Policy," *American Historical Review*, XLVII (Jan. 1942), 267.

emphasized, however, that Dickinson's address was more than a reflection of internal political pressure on the Cleveland foreign policies. The speech was important because it symbolized a wide and strongly held opinion that the United States had to obtain additional foreign markets. In a flaming peroration that summarized the speech, Dickinson declared, "We need and must have open markets throughout the world to maintain and increase our prosperity." He realized that such American expansion would conflict with "the settled policy of Great Britain." Consequently, Dickinson asked that England's "extraordinary claims and movements" be watched closely in Nicaragua and Venezuela.⁶⁴ The President applauded the speech in a personal letter to Dickinson.⁶⁵

Cleveland had become interested in the Venezuelan dispute in early 1895, the importance of the Orinoco River especially attracting his attention. When Dickinson made a midnight call on the hard-working Chief Executive in April 1895, Cleveland displayed a large map showing the controversial boundary area. He explained that Great Britain had not previously formally included the mouth of the Orinoco in its territory, but recently the British Foreign Minister had entered such a claim. Cleveland expressed alarm since the control of the river meant the control of a rich section of the South American interior trade.⁶⁶

The State Department shared the President's concern, for it also realized the importance of the Orinoco for American commerce. In late 1894 Venezuela closed the river in an alleged effort to end smuggling. By quickly exerting diplomatic pressure to reopen the waterway, Gresham demonstrated that the United States valued the Orinoco.⁶⁷ Venezuela took advantage of this incident to send a diplomatic note to Washington that stressed the dire consequences for American commerce if England gained control of the river's entrance.⁶⁸ Then, on April 5, 1895, the British formally claimed the Orinoco's mouth. Between this date and May 25 events moved rapidly. Cleveland told Dickinson of his concern over the control of the river; Gresham asked Venezuela to restore diplomatic relations with England in order that the United

⁶⁴ Clipping in Cleveland Papers from *Detroit Free Press*, May 10, 1895.

⁶⁵ Cleveland to Dickinson, July 31, 1895, Cleveland Papers.

⁶⁶ Note that this visit occurred before Dickinson's speech in May. Allan Nevins, *Grover Cleveland: A Study in Courage* (New York, 1933), 631. Nevins is one of the few historians who have given the Orinoco River any significance in explaining American concern in the dispute. For Cleveland's anxiety over the Orinoco, see his *Presidential Problems* (New York, 1904), 182-83.

⁶⁷ See P. F. Fenton, "The Diplomatic Relations of the United States and Venezuela," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, VIII (Aug. 1938), 299-329; *Bradstreet's*, Apr. 27, 1895, 257.

⁶⁸ Seneca Haselton to Gresham, Jan. 15, 1895, Dispatches from Venezuela, SDA. William L. Scruggs also widely publicized the importance of the Orinoco in *The Monroe Doctrine on Trial* (Atlanta, Ga., 1895), 24-25.

States would "be in a position" to mediate; and the President began an urgent search to find "someone . . . of a much higher grade than is usually thought good enough" to send to the vacant ministerial post in Venezuela. Gresham finally began composing a long note on the subject which he planned to send to Great Britain, but death cut short his task.⁶⁹ Olney picked up and supercharged this growing American concern, then exploded it in the British Foreign Office with his note of July 20.

The real origins of the boundary dispute dated from 1841, but the United States entered the controversy much later, in 1883 and 1886, and then only briefly. The State Department made the British-Venezuelan controversy a three-cornered affair only toward the close of Gresham's term of office.⁷⁰ Olney, former Attorney General, replaced Gresham upon the latter's death in May 1895. He possessed two beliefs that must be understood to comprehend American action in the dispute. First, he had a clear conception of the 1893 depression as a "labor revolution" which had resulted from the introduction of machine technology. With these new means of expanded production, more markets had to be found if Olney were to fulfill his hope of restraining this "revolution" to what he termed "peaceful and moderate channels."⁷¹ Second, he believed that the United States had emerged from its century of internal development as a full-fledged world power. The natural corollary of this was that the United States could now exert its will almost any place in the world, particularly in the Western Hemisphere. As Olney stated this concept, "It behooves us to accept the commanding position" the United States occupies "among the powers of the earth."⁷²

Olney embodied these beliefs in his July 20, 1895, note on the Venezuelan boundary question to British Prime Minister Lord Salisbury. The Secretary of State posited that American "honor and . . . interests" were involved in

⁶⁹ On April 5, 1895, Bayard learned from Lord Kimberley, the British Foreign Minister, that England claimed land inside the mouth of the Orinoco (Bayard to Gresham, Apr. 5, 1895, *Dispatches from Great Britain*, SDA). Gresham began drafting a note to England on the subject sometime during the last part of that month. There are good reasons to believe that Gresham's note would have been nearly as blunt and boastful as Olney's. As early as January 1895, Gresham told Bayard that Britain's position on the Orinoco question was "contradictory and palpably unjust" and that if England continued to encroach on Venezuelan territory "we will be obliged . . . to call a halt." Gresham to Bayard, Jan. 16, 1895, *Instructions to Great Britain*, SDA. For Cleveland's reaction, see Nevins, *Grover Cleveland*, 631; *Letters of Grover Cleveland*, ed. *id.*, 392; Cleveland, *Presidential Problems*, 251-52.

⁷⁰ For the background of the boundary dispute, see Dexter Perkins, *The Monroe Doctrine, 1867-1907* (Baltimore, 1937) 44-60.

⁷¹ Significantly, Olney changed his mind about the depression's causes between June 1893 and 1894. In 1893 he believed the panic resulted from a cyclical movement in the economy. See his remarks prepared for Harvard commencement dinner, June 28, 1893, Olney Papers; clipping from *Philadelphia Daily Evening Telegraph*, June 20, 1894, *ibid.*

⁷² Richard Olney, "International Isolation of the United States," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXI (May 1898), 577-88; speech at national opening of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum, June 2, 1897, Olney Papers.

the controversy. He then tried to fit the Monroe Doctrine into the dispute. Historians might demonstrate that Olney made a poor fitting and that the doctrine, as defined by past use, did not apply to the question. This, however, does not lead to an understanding of either Olney's intentions or the aims of the Cleveland administration's foreign policy. Olney advanced the argument that American interests as well as Venezuelan territory were at stake. In essence, he interpreted the Monroe Doctrine as the catchall slogan that justified protecting America's self-interests. If the Monroe Doctrine had never existed, Olney's note would have been penned anyway; only the term "American self-interest" would have been substituted for the doctrine.⁷³

Declaring that the United States had political and commercial stakes in Latin America, the Secretary of State proceeded to proclaim the ideal of extending the American form of democracy to the world in sentences that resemble those of Wilson in 1917. He interrelated American interests with the Orinoco River since it controlled "the whole navigation of the interior of South America." Of vital significance is the context within which Olney placed these points, for he emphasized that the Monroe Doctrine was positive as well as negative. Not only did the doctrine formulate the rule of European abstinence from the Western Hemisphere, but "It aimed at also securing the practical benefits to result from the application of the rule." Olney then defined these benefits as "popular self-government" in Latin America, the commercial and political relationship of South and Central America to the United States, and the unencumbered use of the Orinoco. The Secretary of State climaxed this argument with the blunt assertion that if necessary these benefits could be secured and preserved by American force: "Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition."⁷⁴

When Lord Salisbury challenged these claims, Cleveland rephrased the American argument in his special message of December 17, 1895. The President first defined the Monroe Doctrine as a statement of self-interest. He then declared that the doctrine had to be maintained since it was "essential to the integrity of our free institutions and the tranquil maintenance of our distinctive form of government." Phrasing his message candidly, Cleveland warned that if Great Britain continued its course in the boundary dispute, the United States would regard this action "as a willful aggression upon its rights and interests."⁷⁵

⁷³ For an opposite view of the involvement of American interests, see Perkins, *Monroe Doctrine*, 155, 180.

⁷⁴ Olney to Bayard, July 20, 1895, Instructions to Great Britain, SDA; the note is in *FR*, I, 545-62.

⁷⁵ *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, ed. Richardson, IX, 656-58.

The causes and intentions of the administration's policy are given in a personal letter from Cleveland to Bayard. The President emphasized two points. He wrote that the Monroe Doctrine had been invoked because of "its value and importance *to our government and welfare*, and that its defense and maintenance involve its application when a state of facts arises requiring it" [Cleveland's italics]. The President next strongly disclaimed any idea that internal political pressure, especially jingoism, had inspired the American action; such influence was "entirely irrelevant to the case and . . . had absolutely nothing to do with any action I have taken."⁷⁶

Throughout the ensuing negotiations, the United States acted unilaterally. Venezuela did not know that Olney had penned his July note until the newspapers printed the text. Even after this, the Cleveland administration did not consult Venezuela.⁷⁷ When, in January 1896, Great Britain proposed a court of arbitration that included a Venezuelan representative, Olney countered with an offer excluding Venezuelan membership. The Secretary of State took the same position when he opposed including the Latin American nation in the negotiations. He argued that he did not care to have Venezuela "consulted at every step."⁷⁸ Olney succeeded in including his plan for the court of arbitration in the treaty signed by England and the United States in November 1896. When the Caracas government learned of this, it demanded and obtained a representative on the tribunal. Even then Venezuela so intensely disliked both the treaty and the manner in which Olney had carried on negotiations that the legislature ratified the pact only after police ended threats of street rioting in Caracas.⁷⁹

The United States obtained its two principal objectives: England submitted the dispute to an arbitral commission, and in the final disposition Venezuela retained control of the Orinoco River. But most important, by submitting its case to arbitration, England recognized Olney's claim of American dominance in the Western Hemisphere.

American historians have offered three interpretations to explain the Cleveland administration's policy in the boundary dispute. The most popu-

⁷⁶ Cleveland to Bayard, Dec. 29, 1895, Cleveland Papers; the letter is also in *Letters of Grover Cleveland*, ed. Nevins, 417-20.

⁷⁷ See esp. George B. Young, "Intervention under the Monroe Doctrine: The Olney Corollary," *Political Science Quarterly*, LVII (June 1942), 251-52, 260, and Arthur P. Whitaker, *The United States and South America: The Western Republics* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), 160-61.

⁷⁸ Olney to Bayard, Jan. 22, 1896, Olney Papers. Bayard was very bitter at Olney's exclusion of Venezuela. See Bayard's personal memorandum, undated, but written sometime during March 1896 (Bayard Papers).

⁷⁹ Young, "Intervention under the Monroe Doctrine," 276-78; *London Times*, Feb. 5, 15, 1897.

lar explanation states that domestic political attacks "must explain both the seriousness with which the administration came to consider a distant boundary dispute and also the aggressive tone which the Olney note and the Cleveland message displayed."⁸⁰ A second thesis traces the policy's roots to Olney's bellicose, stubborn temper.⁸¹ A third interpretation declares that a "psychic crisis" struck influential segments of American opinion in the 1890's and that a new spirit of manifest destiny emerged from this "crisis."⁸²

There can be little doubt that Cleveland took domestic political pressures into account, but defining these pressures as major causative elements leaves key questions unanswered and raises many others. Cleveland's bellicose policy could not have permanently won any political enemies to his side. The Republican jingoists and the Democratic silver bloc led the cheering for the December 17 message. Neither of these groups would have agreed with Cleveland on national political objectives. The President actually alienated many of his strongest supporters, especially the eastern financiers who had once saved the gold reserve, and who, at Cleveland's request, repeated the rescue operation shortly after the December message.⁸³ In other words, the administration's Venezuelan policy attracted groups that were irreconcilable in domestic politics, while repelling the administration's staunchest supporters. War might have united the nation behind him, but Cleveland certainly did not want to turn the controversy into an open conflict.

No reliable proof exists which shows that Cleveland hoped to benefit personally from the episode. It is extremely doubtful that with his conservative conception of the Chief Executive's duties and responsibilities he would have broken the third term tradition even if he had possessed the support. E. C. Benedict, who handled Cleveland's investments in stocks and bonds, testified three weeks before the Venezuelan message that the President had repeatedly said that he was "impatient" to end his term in office.⁸⁴

An interpretation that stresses Olney's bellicose character misses two important points. First, Gresham worked on a diplomatic note concerning

⁸⁰ Blake, "Background of Cleveland's Venezuelan Policy," 275-76. Blake acknowledges that Cleveland did not "surrender to political pressure" and that "he became personally convinced that the Monroe Doctrine was at stake and that it was his duty to maintain it." But Blake then adds the statement quoted above. Bemis, *Latin American Policy of the United States*, 119; Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten*, 510-11.

⁸¹ Charles Callan Tansill, *The Foreign Policy of Thomas F. Bayard, 1885-1897* (New York, 1940), 776; see also Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten*, 1918.

⁸² Richard Hofstadter, "Manifest Destiny and the Philippines" in *America in Crisis*, ed. Daniel Aaron (New York, 1952), 173-200, esp. 176, 178.

⁸³ *Wall Street Journal*, Dec. 21, 1895. Two weeks before the special Venezuelan message, Henry Villard personally pleaded with the President to prevent American "arguments with Europe" until the treasury reserve was restored. Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten*, 512, 1702.

⁸⁴ *Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 27, 1895.

the Venezuelan situation several months before Olney assumed the top position in the State Department. Second, Cleveland probably initiated the dispatch of the Olney note, reworked the draft, and heartily endorsed his Secretary of State's language. The President played an extremely important part in the formulation of the policy, especially during the crucial incubation period of April-July 1895.⁸⁵

A thesis which emphasizes that Cleveland bowed to the pressure of jingoism and a mass psychological need for vicarious excitement does an injustice to Cleveland. The President's greatest assets were his courage and a strong character.⁸⁶ After all, Cleveland defied public pressures exerted for Hawaiian annexation, the application of the Monroe Doctrine in the Corinto dispute, and compromises in the silver repeal act and the 1894 tariff. There is no reason to believe that he suddenly bent to the winds of jingoism in 1895, unless he had better reasons than pleasing irreconcilable political enemies. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to put Cleveland and Olney in the social groups that supposedly were undergoing this psychological dilemma.

Olney and Cleveland acted as they did because they feared that United States interests were in jeopardy. Both men said this at the time, and there is no reason to doubt their word. Such danger emanated from actual or threatened European encroachments in Latin America. This expansion not only endangered both areas held vital for American strategic purposes and existing or possible political democracies in the Western Hemisphere, but it also threatened present and potential commercial markets for American products. Both the administration and the business community proclaimed these markets to be necessary for American economic and political health. They reasoned that increased shipments of industrial products to less developed regions would have to replace faltering agricultural products as the staple of American export trade; and, as a member of the State Department observed in 1895, "It has been the task of Mr. Cleveland's foreign policy to prepare the way" for these manufactured goods.⁸⁷ One may speculate that Cleveland referred to both economic and security problems when he told a close friend late in 1896 that the Venezuelan affair was not a foreign question, but the "most distinct of home questions."⁸⁸ As Olney realized, the mature

⁸⁵ Cleveland, *Presidential Problems*, 257-59; *Letters of Grover Cleveland*, ed. Nevins, 392; Bemis, *Latin American Policy of the United States*, 119.

⁸⁶ Nevins rightly emphasizes these traits in his *Grover Cleveland*.

⁸⁷ Unsigned article by Frederic Emory in *Baltimore Sun*, May 27, 1895, sent to Bayard, May 28, 1895, Bayard Papers.

⁸⁸ George F. Parker, *Recollections of Cleveland* (New York, 1909), 195. This conclusion differs from Vagts's belief that Cleveland's policy was one of "negative imperialism" or what Vagts describes as "eager for rule but not for gain." *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten*,

power of the United States could be used to harvest what the Secretary of State called "the practical benefits" of the Monroe Doctrine. Then these "home questions" could be solved.

xi, 1416, 1701, 1702. It should be noted, however, that numerous and influential voices of the American business community applauded Cleveland's vigorous use of the Monroe Doctrine to challenge British expansion in Latin America. Many of these businessmen based their support on the hope of increased commercial expansion into Latin America once British power was weakened in the area. See Walter LaFeber, "The American Business Community and Cleveland's Venezuelan Message," *Business History Review*, XXXIV (Winter 1960), 393-402.

Woodrow Wilson, Jan Smuts, and the Versailles Settlement

GEORGE CURRY*

DURING the turmoil of treaty making at Versailles a historic personal encounter occurred between Woodrow Wilson and Jan Christian Smuts who, with Prime Minister Louis Botha, represented the Union of South Africa in the British Empire's delegation to the Peace Conference. Smuts and Wilson met for the first and last times in Paris, and though their private deliberations and social contacts were few, each apparently had a dramatic, lasting, and strangely ironic impact on the other's thoughts and actions. When the stricken President, less than a month before his retirement from the White House, wrote what proved to be a final note to Smuts acknowledging a copy of the latter's laudatory article, "Woodrow Wilson's Place in History," he told the author this tribute had given him "the greatest gratification." Wilson added, with unusual warmth, "I know of no one whose good opinion I value more than I value yours." While this communication was not lengthy or expansive, its tone indicates that the enigmatic Wilson was addressing someone whom he regarded as a genuine friend.¹ And when Smuts, with a half apology for the encouragement he had given John Maynard Keynes to produce his *Economic Consequences of the Peace*, repudiated that writer's derisive view of Wilson's character and achievement, substituting his own judgment, "the noblest figure—perhaps the only noble figure—in the history of the war," it appears that he too goes further than mere phrase-making.² As their meeting took place during the supreme effort in the careers of both men to that date, it may be worth more detailed consideration than the references of standard authorities which simply note that Smuts's ideas on the League, on mandataries, and on reparations had a marked influence on Wilson's thinking.

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¹ Wilson to Smuts, Feb. 9, 1921, Woodrow Wilson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Wilson signed himself, "with the most cordial and affectionate good wishes." A reprint of the Smuts article is found in the *New York Times*, Mar. 3, 1921.

² John Maynard Keynes resigned from the British delegation to Versailles on June 7, 1919, because of his views on the reparations settlement. See his *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (New York, 1920), Chap. v. For Smuts on Keynes, see Sarah Gertrude Millin, *General Smuts* (2 vols., London, 1936), II, 172, 174, 256-57.

A starting point might be the background and content of Smuts's pamphlet, *The League of Nations: A Practical Suggestion*, written in late November 1918. This document, more than any other of its kind, was to excite the imagination of the American President. Since his arrival in London in March 1917, Smuts's activities as administrator and diplomat, and above all his brilliance as a public speaker, had made him supremely useful to Lloyd George's government, winning him a favored place in the inner councils of the Imperial War Cabinet and a universal esteem in Britain such as he had never enjoyed in South Africa.³ In his speeches Smuts frequently discussed the future of the British peoples. He shrewdly appraised the perils as well as the promises of the postwar world, and much of what he said was Wilsonian in spirit and purpose. In an important address to the London League of Nations Society on May 14, 1917, for example, he had strongly advocated the creation at the war's end of an organization to maintain international rights and general peace. He welcomed suggestions already advanced by Wilson and other influential Americans along these lines, but as he thought none of the schemes were satisfactory, he proposed the establishment of an Anglo-American committee to devise a better one.⁴ A little over a year later, in May 1918, some six months before the Armistice, Smuts made it plain that he did not agree with those determined to smash Germany completely. "I don't think an out-and-out victory is possible for any group of nations," he told a Glasgow audience; "the civilization we are out to save may be jeopardized itself."⁵ Though speaking at that time as a member of the War Cabinet to which Lloyd George had appointed him, the viewpoint he expressed in this instance was more like Wilson's than that of the Prime Minister and of the majority of his government.⁶

Earlier in the war, proposals to set up international machinery for the settlement of disputes and prevention of future hostilities had come before the British cabinet. To Lord Robert Cecil, then Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs and later a devoted advocate of the League, belongs the distinction of having written the first official memorandum on the subject. His brief state paper was submitted to the cabinet in the autumn of 1916 and was seen by Colonel Edward M. House in September 1917. Cecil's initiative encouraged the appointment of Lord Phillimore's Committee, a distinguished

³ An effective summary of the impression made by Smuts on Lloyd George and others is found in *Jan Christian Smuts*, by his son, J. C. Smuts (London, 1952), 237.

⁴ The *London Times*, May 15, 1917. Smuts felt the meeting brought together "the dreamers, the idealists, and the visionaries who were the salt of the earth, the practical men, and the men of blood like himself."

⁵ *Ibid.*, May 18, 1918; Millin, *General Smuts*, II, 137.

⁶ Smuts joined the Imperial War Cabinet as a South African representative on April 30, 1918.

group which reported to the Prime Minister in March 1918.⁷ Shortly thereafter its work was supplemented by the plan of a similar group sponsored by the French government under the chairmanship of Léon Bourgeois. Lloyd George, who wrote that the Bourgeois Committee was formed by the French under British impetus, found its concept to be "bolder and more imaginative than the Phillimore report," particularly in its detailed and precise treatment of the powers and constitution of the proposed league. Since none of these semiofficial schemes, British or French, appeared entirely acceptable, the Prime Minister appealed to Smuts, whose abilities and idealism he respected, to prepare another.⁸ The result was the *Practical Suggestion*, made public by the British government on December 16, 1918.⁹

In his foreword Smuts referred to it as a "short sketch . . . hastily written at the last moment, and amid other pressing duties, in view of the early meeting of the peace conference." The published version, in fact, ran to well over sixty pages. It was characteristic of Smuts's industry and drafting skill that he had produced so quickly—in a few days, he says—a remarkable document that immediately aroused wide interest. In twenty-one propositions, amplified by paragraphs of elucidation and comment, Smuts sought to demonstrate the workability of the league idea, which he considered the most important and far-reaching of all matters that the Peace Conference would consider. A revival of the spoils system at the war's end, he warned, would bring despair and Russian Bolshevism; a league of nations must become the reversionary in the broadest sense of the dissolving empires. "Europe is being liquidated," wrote Smuts, in a phrase which was to captivate Wilson; "the league . . . must be the heir to this great estate."¹⁰ He then discussed the potentials of the league as a mandatory power. Former territories of Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey, he believed, should be disposed of in accordance with the general formula, "No annexations, and the self-determination of nations." Germany was different: Alsace would justly revert to France, and the fate of the German colonies in the Pacific and Africa, "inhabited by barbarians" quite incapable of governing themselves, should accord with the principles of Wilson's celebrated Fifth Point on the impartial adjustment of colonial claims, based on the interests of the populations concerned.

After further consideration of the relationship between a league and the

⁷ Viscount Cecil, *A Great Experiment* (New York, 1941), 47, 60. Cecil sent a copy of his plan to Colonel House in a letter from London, dated September 3, 1917. See *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, ed. Charles Seymour (4 vols., Boston, 1926-28), IV, 6.

⁸ David Lloyd George, *Memoirs of the Peace Conference* (2 vols., New Haven, Conn., 1939), I, 407-13.

⁹ Lt. Gen. the Rt. Hon. J. C. Smuts, P.C., *The League of Nations: A Practical Suggestion* (New York, 1919).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3, 8. Smuts's son emphasizes the effect on Wilson. *Jan Christian Smuts*, 219.

powers it should appoint as mandataries, Smuts offered a complete constitutional scheme, encompassing a general conference for the broad discussion of issues, a council of great powers as permanent members and other states in rotation to take executive action, and a secretariat and courts of arbitration and conciliation. Referring specifically to two issues raised by Wilson in the Fourteen Points—freedom of the seas and establishment of an equality of trade conditions by the removal of economic barriers between members of the league, issues highly controversial in Britain—Smuts cautiously suggested that the permanent staff of the council should make a detailed investigation of the application of these principles to the circumstances of various countries. Touching on the complexities of disarmament he argued for the nationalization and inspection of armament factories by a league council adding, "There is no doubt that the influence of Krupps has been harmful to the great peace interests of the world and, in less degree, the same could be said of most other similar undertakings." His final propositions, dealing with means of preventing international disputes from developing into wars, were in substance a restatement of the Phillimore Committee's report, but framed with an eloquence that was certain to appeal to Wilson. A passage often quoted in Smuts's finest prose brought the document to an impressive close:

For there is no doubt that mankind is once more on the move. . . . the great caravan of humanity is once more on the march. Vast social and industrial changes are coming—perhaps upheavals which may, in their magnitude and effects, be comparable to war itself. A steadying, controlling, regulating influence will be required to give stability to progress. . . . [the league] may well be destined to mark a new era in the government of man, and become . . . to all the embodiment and living expression of the moral and spiritual unity of the human race.¹¹

When Smuts presented the *Practical Suggestion* to the Imperial War Cabinet he spoke as though he had the probable reaction of the American President in mind:

We must from the very start of the conference co-operate with America, and encourage and support President Wilson as far as is consistent with our own interests. . . . I suggest we could best signalize that co-operation by supporting President Wilson's policy of a League of Nations and indeed by . . . giving form and substance to his rather nebulous ideas . . . if he could go back to America with the League of Nations realized—not merely a formula, but a real substantive part of our future international system—I believe he will . . . be prepared to drop some of the other contentious points he has unfortunately raised.¹²

Aware that his colleagues were not fully in accord with all of Wilson's

¹¹ Smuts, *The League of Nations*, 63, 64.

¹² Millin, *General Smuts*, II, 171.

views, Smuts wished to assure them that he too disagreed with some aspects of the President's policy. He almost certainly approved of British reservations on the Fourteen Points, particularly on the questions of freedom of the seas and compensation for "civilian damages," notably in France and Belgium, which had formed the subject of Colonel House's recent prolonged discussions with the British government. His slighting reference to Wilson's "nebulous ideas" is understandable. Smuts liked to see an idea translated into practical terms. Alone among the delegates, he had arrived at the constitutional convention of the South African Union in 1908 with a completed scheme on paper. But there is no doubt of his general endorsement of Wilson's principles and his readiness to implement them if this was at all within the framework of political reality.

The development of Wilson's early concepts of a league of nations should now be sketched. Broadly speaking, he had been an enthusiastic champion of the idea since his study of the Grey-House correspondence in May 1916. He had encouraged this exchange of views as part of his efforts toward a negotiated peace. There was, of course, a difference in American and British aims in this connection. Wilson regarded the league as a continuation and logical outcome of peace by negotiation; Grey wanted to gain American support, if not military at least moral. He offered the league proposal as a guarantee that the United States was not simply being asked to support an imperialistic war.¹³ Though Wilson's hopes for a peace without victory were never realized, his interest in the creation of a league continued after the United States entered the war in April 1917. It is plain, however, that he fought shy of embarking on a joint scheme with the Allies. When, for example, House, the President's agent in this matter, received a copy of Cecil's pioneer draft in September 1917 with the suggestion that an Anglo-American committee be formed to examine the question, Wilson preferred to leave the initiative with his fact-finding organization, the Inquiry. Later, in February 1918, when Wilson and House were told by Cecil of the formation of the Phillimore Committee and invited to give confidential information on American intentions, the President remained noncommittal, evidently fearing public controversy as well as involvement with the British. Shortly after the Phillimore report was completed in March 1918, Wilson was sent a copy. It was not until June, however, that he authorized House to begin drafting an American version of it.¹⁴

This House-Phillimore draft (a copy of which Cecil received) was sent

¹³ *Intimate Papers*, ed. Seymour, IV, 3, 6, 7; *Wilson's Foreign Policy in Perspective*, ed. Edward H. Buehrig (Bloomington, Ind., 1957), 43-50.

¹⁴ *Intimate Papers*, ed. Seymour, IV, 8-22.

to Wilson on July 16, 1918, and rewritten by him sometime before a visit to Colonel House at Magnolia, Massachusetts, in mid-August. In this so-called "Magnolia draft" Wilson revised the numbering of House's proposals to thirteen (to achieve this supposedly lucky number he was forced to make an addendum), omitted any mention of an international court, and strengthened the paragraphs on disarmament and abolition of the manufacturing of arms for profit. He also stressed the need for compulsory arbitration and the use of force when this failed, and, as Smuts was to do, rejected House's idea of limiting the league to great powers. It was the Magnolia draft—House-out-of-Phillimore as revised by Wilson—that the President took with him to Europe in December 1918.¹⁵ While there is a clear affinity between its spirit and that of Smuts's *Practical Suggestion*, Wilson's exposition of the league scheme was neither as detailed nor as eloquent.

Wilson took something else across the Atlantic, a marked distrust of European leadership which was probably as much distorted as European notions of him as a smug, sentimental dreamer. He was, of course, an ardent believer in the unique destiny and mission of the United States, in the concept of its political purity and apartness which has found majestic expression in Lincoln's phrase "the best hope of the world," eloquent exposition in the pages of Henry Adams, and less sophisticated restatement in Herbert Hoover's concept of the "New World versus the Old."¹⁶ But there was more than nationalistic bias in Wilson's reaction, while en route to Europe on the *George Washington*, to a badly garbled cablegram from Colonel House, who was already in Paris acting as the President's representative. He commented severely, "I gather that these men [Lloyd George and Georges Clemenceau] have agreed on a definite program. . . . They are planning to take what they can as a matter of spoils, regardless of either the ethics or the practical aspects of the proceeding. . . ." The President went so far as to mention the possibility of withdrawing his commissioners and making a separate peace though he did not believe this would come to pass.¹⁷

It was also during the voyage that he suggested to his staff that the German colonies might be declared the common property of the league to be

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 24, 25, 28–38, 48–49, 50, 54; for a comparison of the House and Wilson drafts, see also Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement* (3 vols., New York, 1922) I, 223–24, III, 79–87, 88–93.

¹⁶ See, notably, Herbert Hoover, *The Ordeal of Woodrow Wilson* (New York, 1958), 72, 81, 94, 264, 300.

¹⁷ From an unpublished manuscript by Charles L. Swem in the Woodrow Wilson Collection, Princeton University Library. In one version of his unpublished manuscript Swem recalled the President's prefacing these remarks with, "The plot is thickening. . . ." Hoover, *Ordeal*, 193, wrongly relates Wilson's judgment on Lloyd George and Clemenceau to his second voyage to Paris.

administered by small nations, with their resources available to all.¹⁸ Much of what he said on the disposal of enemy territories was in harmony with the mandates section of Smuts's league plan. Unfortunately Smuts excluded former German colonies from his reversionary areas, and Wilson's latest idea was in this regard definitely out of sympathy with the ambitions of the British Dominions in Africa and the Pacific. It will be necessary to revert to this conflict of views later.

The President's remarks on the *George Washington* were symptomatic of the tendency of both the European and the American delegations to suspect the worst of each other's motives and conduct before the conference opened. House's son-in-law, Gordon Auchincloss, was in London to make advance arrangements for Wilson's ceremonial visit to Britain. He felt it most important that the President should not go to the Prime Minister's office in Downing Street for "conversations" with Lloyd George, Arthur Balfour, the Foreign Secretary, and the cabinet, as was being arranged by the British government. Lloyd George and Balfour, he thought, should go to the palace for any conference, though the President might pay a courtesy call at No. 10. There was regard for protocol, but also a measure of wariness was reflected in this hesitation. The same informant telephoned House on Christmas day and conveyed the welcome news that the cabinet, though much disturbed (as was the majority of the British public) over the freedom of the seas question, was ready to back Wilson in his "League of Nations project" almost to the extent of letting him write "the covenants of it" himself. He thought it well at the same time to warn the President that the naval officer who had been delegated to meet him at Dover was of the "ultra blue water school" and therefore advised caution in discussing naval matters with him.¹⁹ It has been noted before that Wilson's public speeches in Britain, despite warmth of public acclaim, were hardly ever expansive. Convinced that he could put greater faith in "the people" than in the conduct of their elected representatives, the President doubtless approved the sentiments expressed in a letter of good wishes written to him by Charles Gore, bishop of Oxford:

Since I returned from America I have become more and more conscious how much there is, among the educated classes in Europe, which is set against the idea of international justice and the principles of peace settlement for which you stand. But I am also conscious *that the heart and mind of the common people are with you.*²⁰

¹⁸ Arthur Walworth, *Woodrow Wilson* (2 vols., New York, 1958), II, 219.

¹⁹ House to Wilson, Dec. 25, 1918 (telegram), Auchincloss to House, Dec. 25, 1918, Wilson Papers. For Auchincloss' "officiousness," see Walworth, *Wilson*, II, 231, n. 10.

²⁰ Gore to Wilson, Dec. 23, 1918, Wilson Papers.

It was while he was making his first guarded contacts with the European leaders that Wilson fell under the spell of Smuts's *Practical Suggestion*. Although Lloyd George's memoirs suggest that Smuts had journeyed to Paris to explain his ideas to the President in advance of the London visit, there is no record elsewhere of such a meeting.²¹ Wilson first received, almost certainly, a copy of the plan at Buckingham Palace from Auchincloss. The latter called on Lloyd George at No. 10 Downing Street on Boxing Day, December 26, and learned what questions the Prime Minister wished to discuss with the President. He was also given copies of both the Cecil and the Smuts memoranda on the league to pass on to Wilson. Lloyd George told him that the Cecil paper had been read to the cabinet, but did not say whether it had been approved. "Smuts' memorandum had not been entirely approved by the Cabinet," ran Auchincloss' diary, "but he [Lloyd George] thought very highly of it and endorsed the views expressed. . . ."²²

Subsequently Lloyd George met Wilson at Buckingham Palace. In his memoirs he mentions that Wilson was asked for a copy of any American proposals on the league, since he now had a copy of Smuts's pamphlet. As Lloyd George remembered the reply it was to the effect that the President "did not possess any document of that kind and he was desirous of establishing agreement on the general principles and outline before forming a plan." Whether Wilson was being deliberately evasive about his Magnolia draft or whether Lloyd George is incorrect on some details can only be surmised.

Two or three days later the Prime Minister gave the Imperial War Cabinet an account of the interview. With regard to the league, he was able to report that the President's mind was "apparently travelling in very much the same direction of the proposals advocated by Lord Robert Cecil and General Smuts." He could also report agreement with Wilson on the desirability of discussing plans for the league at the outset of the conference and on the question of retaining the German colonies. In this connection Lloyd George had told the President that he thought German Southwest Africa could not be separated from the South African Union. Wilson seemed to be more interested in the fate of the Pacific colonies, declaring himself opposed to the Allied treaty with Japan by which German colonies of the North Pacific would be absorbed by the Japanese Empire. Lloyd George, who knew that Australia and New Zealand wished to acquire German territory south of the equator and for this reason alone would support Japanese claims, observed that these questions would have to be "fought out at the conference where

²¹ Lloyd George, *Memoirs*, I, 419.

²² Diary, Dec. 26, 1918, Gordon Auchincloss, Yale University MSS.

the Dominions would be able to present their own case.”²³ Despite this promise of future complications, there is little doubt that this first meeting was a surprising success, and it may not be too fanciful to suggest that Smuts’s memorandum had contributed to the general cordiality.

Wilson left London on December 31 and after a meeting of the American commissioners in House’s apartments in Paris on the afternoon of January 1, 1919, went on to pay a ceremonial visit to Italy. While he was en route to Rome, General Tasker H. Bliss, writing confidentially from Paris to the Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, in Washington, described the President as “in general . . . very much pleased” after the various interviews with Lloyd George and Balfour. “He was surprised at the mildness of the attitude of Mr. Lloyd George and his substantial agreement with him [the President] on various important points. He [Wilson] confessed he could not feel quite sure as to the permanence of Mr. Lloyd George’s views.” Bliss added wryly, “I think he will understand the man better when he has dealt with him a while in council.” Bliss’s letter continued:

He [the President] was very much impressed by a document which he described as thoroughly statesmanlike in character which had been prepared by General Smuts. He had had time to study only part of this and intended to finish it on his way to Italy. He was struck by the extraordinary resemblance of General Smuts’ views on such subjects as The League of Nations to the American views. In view of General Smuts’ intimate relations with the British government and the fact that he had heard no criticism of the document, he hoped that these views might be more or less the governmental views.

In closing his letter, Bliss again reflected the disquiet of the American delegation, even before the Paris Conference had begun. The English view, he thought, was coming to resemble the American. But he concluded, “Most thinking men here are looking with apprehension on the course being followed by the Allies with respect to Germany. . . . Neither England nor France want to see German industrialism and commercialism revived until they themselves are well in the lead. . . . But the French want to bring complete and lasting ruin on Germany.”²⁴

Wilson returned to the French capital on January 7. The next day he was ready to discuss with House a revision of the Magnolia draft, later generally known as the first Paris draft. Since this document was compiled after the President had had an opportunity to study the Smuts proposals in full, it deserves attention here. In several instances Wilson borrowed directly from the Smuts pamphlet. He adopted the idea of an executive council of the

²³ Lloyd George, *Memoirs*, I, 114–15, 118.

²⁴ Bliss to Baker, Jan. 4, 1919, Wilson Papers.

Great Powers, reinforced by representatives chosen from the lesser and then minor states, in rotation, and the idea of the veto in the council by three or more negative votes. Indeed Wilson's Article Two of the first Paris draft leaned heavily on the Smuts plan both in context and language, as did his disarmament proposals.²⁵ There was a specific reference, in Smuts's own terms, to the abolition of conscription and to the regulation by the league of the numbers in militia or volunteer armies.²⁶ There was no longer any provision for compulsory arbitration, an omission from Magnolia also attributable to the influence of Smuts, and of the Phillimore report. Many of Smuts's recommendations on the guarantees surrounding arbitration and the penalties facing covenant-breaking states were reproduced almost identically.

The more important additions from Smuts, by far, were Wilson's four supplementary clauses. These followed almost exactly the South African's proposals for the league "as the successor to the Empires," though Wilson amended the original to read, "In respect of the peoples and territories which formerly belonged to Austria-Hungary, and to Turkey, *and in respect of the colonies formerly under the dominion of the German Empire.*"²⁷

Wilson himself acknowledged Smuts's influence on his thoughts at this time and subsequently at his White House conference with the members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on August 19, 1919. On the latter occasion he explained the origins of the covenant, saying in part:

... between that time [the writing of the Magnolia draft] and the time of the formation of the commission on the league of nations, I had the advantage of seeing a paper done by General Smuts, of South Africa, who seemed to me to have done some very clear thinking, particularly with regard to what was to be done with the pieces of the dismembered empires. After I got to Paris, therefore, I re-wrote the document. . . .²⁸

In these activities the President was obviously intent on keeping close personal control over the drafting of a constitution for the league. This caused concern among the American commissioners who had been meeting fitfully in his absence, generally ignorant of his plans and intentions. Secretary of State Robert Lansing, whose experience in international law and the drafting of documents led him to resent Wilson's attitude, confided in his diary his dismay over the President's secrecy and self-importance. House had given him a copy of the Magnolia draft on January 6, and he found it to be

²⁵ See Baker, *Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement*, III, 96, 100.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 97, 102-103.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 97-98, 103-105, 94-95, 108-10; see also *Intimate Papers*, ed. Seymour, IV, 286-87. The italics are mine.

²⁸ *Congressional Record*, 66 Cong., 1 sess. [Aug. 19, 1919]. Senate Docs., XIII, No. 76, 8.

"crude and to lack knowledge of the Hague Conventions." Two days later Lansing, who liked Cecil personally, but thought that his draft merely envisioned a league to maintain the balance of power, attended a conference with Wilson and the commissioners at which both the Cecil and the Smuts proposals were discussed. "Smuts' plan," he wrote that night, "seems to have captured the Pres't. I argued that the two plans were the same. He disagreed. I feel that the principal covenant will be side-tracked unless the Pres't takes a stronger attitude. Smuts' plan is nothing more than a concert of Powers."²⁹

The next day Lansing noted in his diary that when he had asked Cecil how his plan differed from Smuts's, Lord Robert replied that it "did not except in minor details. Thus he disagrees with Pres't," Lansing commented feelingly. By January 10 Wilson's partiality for Smuts's document, which seemed part of his insistence on keeping matters to himself, had caused a minor storm among his American colleagues. David Lawrence visited Lansing to discuss the issue before the Secretary attended a meeting with the other commissioners in Bliss's room that afternoon. In presenting to them his first Paris draft the President apparently did little to appease them. According to Lansing it was:

A very unsatisfactory session. Pres't apparently resents anybody offering suggestions or doing anything in the way of drafting a treaty for a League of Nations except himself. Speaking of draft of articles by Scott & Miller, he said he did not want lawyers to be engaged at that. Auchincloss had shown me Pres't's draft. It is most inartistically drawn. . . . After Pres't left, Bliss, White and I agreed that the Pres't's attitude was most unpromising for success and that he was taking a very unfortunate attitude. . . . Went up to see Colonel House about the peculiar attitude of the Pres't. H. thinks that Pres't was not well. Pres't sent confidential print of so-called "Covenant" on League of Nations. Read it with discouragement. It is most inartistic and faulty. It will never go, *never*. It adopts Smuts' plan in part.³⁰

Thenceforth Wilson remained cool to suggestions from his own commissioners. Bliss, who was at once critical of the "numerous weaknesses and inconsistencies" in the President's draft, met with White and Lansing to discuss it in detail. All three concluded that it required "considerable amendment." They were consequently relieved next day to find their chief unusually receptive, ready to accept some of their criticisms and modifications. It was also satisfying that he agreed to the preparation by each commissioner of a memorandum on the form of the covenant.³¹ But the mood of Wilson's

²⁹ Desk Diary, Lansing, Jan. 6, 7, 8, 1919, Robert Lansing Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Jan. 9, 10, 1919.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 11, 1919.

entourage soon changed to one akin to the dismal Paris weather which was overcast and squally. On Thursday, January 16, Lansing noted pessimistically: "No general plan of the Conferences has been mapped out, no committees on program or procedure. All is confusion & uncertainty. I do not seem to be able to arouse the Pres't to the situation."³²

The Secretary of State was not, of course, in Wilson's full confidence, nor can he be cited as a wholly unprejudiced observer. It can be fairly assumed, however, that others in the delegation shared his misgivings.

On January 18 the first plenary session of the Peace Conference adopted the procedure greatly favored by Wilson of putting the framing of a league covenant first on the agenda. On this occasion it was noted that Smuts and Wilson had an animated and apparently mutually satisfying discussion. On the same day it is known that Wilson asked his personal physician and unofficial aide, Dr. Cary T. Grayson, to put a copy of his draft privately into Smuts's hands.³³ Two days later Wilson caused Bliss, White, and Lansing to complain again of his "secretiveness about the league." Lansing undertook to approach the President on the subject. As a result, on January 20, Wilson visited the Hotel Crillon where a meeting had been arranged with White, Bliss, and Lansing in Lansing's office. On this occasion, in a discussion lasting an hour and a quarter, he took them more into his confidence. In addition to giving his views on the Russian situation—the angry backdrop to the whole Paris meeting—he sketched the results of his talks with Bourgeois, Cecil, and Smuts. The President also indicated that he intended to give them a revised version of his league plan, on which he was still at work.³⁴

The British draft had been available for Wilson's perusal since the twentieth. It was clearly more the work of Cecil than of Smuts. It made, for example, no mention of mandates, and it limited participation in the league to the Great Powers. Unlike the proposals of both Smuts and Wilson, this plan included a provision for an international court of justice, which would eventually figure in Article XIV of the completed Covenant. The language was extremely legalistic in tone, contrasting with the expressive prose favored by the President and by Smuts.³⁵ During these days Wilson took up the suggestions of Bliss and of David Hunter Miller, legal adviser of the delegation, together with Secretary Lansing's comments. He was also kept informed, as would be expected, of what went on in the series of informal conferences

³² *Ibid.*, Jan. 16, 1919.

³³ Walworth, *Wilson*, II, 256, n. 18.

³⁴ Desk Diary, Lansing, Jan. 20, 1919, Lansing Papers.

³⁵ For the text of the British draft of Jan. 20, 1919, see Baker, *Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement*, III, 130-43.

now proceeding in House's rooms between House, Smuts, and Cecil.³⁶ According to Cecil, Lloyd George "having entrusted General Smuts and me with the League negotiations . . . left the details very much in our hands." In addition to general exchanges of views, the conferees decided to present a resolution to the Peace Conference in favor of the covenant's being included in the treaty. This was drafted by Cecil and later amended by Wilson. It was duly accepted by the second plenary session on January 25.³⁷

During the same week, when Smuts and Cecil were frequent visitors to House's suite in the Crillon, Wilson heard Smuts address the Council of Ten in favor of his country's annexing outright German Southwest Africa. This ambition, as has been seen, conflicted directly with Wilson's opinions on the disposal of this territory. The occasion was Friday, January 24. Lansing, who was with the President, recorded a brief description:

. . . sat until 5:15 listening to claims of British Dominions to control of German colonies. Smuts spoke on German West Africa; Hughes of Australia on German Papua and Marshall Islands; and Massey of N. Zealand on Samoa. Hughes is a great bore. Neither he nor Massey seemed to grasp the difference between mandatory and condominium. Their claims were based on strategic importance, but not so Smuts.³⁸

Smuts, supporting his Premier, Botha, argued that the area concerned was good only for pastoral use and could be developed only as a part of the Union. Apparently this was all he could find to differentiate it from the other German possessions in Africa which he agreed might be "mandated." It is significant that he prefaced his remarks with a statement of the difficulties which had confronted the Union when the question of invading Southwest Africa had fomented a serious rebellion there early in the war.³⁹ The fact was that Botha and Smuts feared to return home from Paris empty-handed, and Smuts's idealism was therefore tempered on this occasion with expediency. Wilson's immediate reaction to this development is not recorded.

Two days later, on January 26, the President invited Smuts and Cecil to his apartments in the Palais Murat to discuss the British and American drafts. Wilson showed his visitors his now completed second Paris draft, a mixture of the Magnolia draft, his earlier Paris effort, and the United States commissioners' suggestions, pervaded throughout by Smuts's ideas. Cecil was not attracted to the document, which he considered "verbose," and as he left

³⁶ *Intimate Papers*, ed. Seymour, IV, 288.

³⁷ Cecil, *Great Experiment*, 66, 68.

³⁸ Desk Diary, Lansing, Jan. 24, 1919, Lansing Papers.

³⁹ See Lloyd George, *Memoirs*, I, 343-48; Baker, *Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement*, I, 257-58.

the President's rooms complained to Smuts of "some propositions which appeared obscure and irrelevant." Smuts, who must have been aware that many of his own views and phrases were being indirectly criticized, merely assented. "Nevertheless," he declared, "we must work with it as our basis."⁴⁰ He was by now more concerned, as was Lloyd George, about the deadlock between the British and Americans over the colonial question. Three days later, after due consultation with Lloyd George, he delivered to House for Wilson's consideration a draft of his famous compromise proposal. This suggested that in the specific cases of the so-called "backward areas," namely the Pacific islands and German Southwest Africa, the territories concerned should be administered by the states contiguous to them, as an integral part of their domains and subject to their laws. Formal title, however, would remain vested in the league, which would safeguard the interests of the native populations, and to which an annual report would be made.⁴¹ When Wilson received this, he immediately wrote on it: "I could agree . . . if the interpretation were to come in practice from General Smuts." It was, he said, the demands of Hughes and of the Japanese which he could not countenance.⁴² It was obvious that the Smuts resolutions, while respecting the letter of Wilson's mandate proposals, virtually permitted annexation. After heated debate, an Anglo-American compromise was finally reached on January 30, when Smuts's proposal was adopted subject to the face-saving formula that it might be reconsidered should it conflict in any way with the league covenant as finally drafted.⁴³ With Wilson's acceptance of the first of Smuts's compromises the way was cleared for the creation of an Anglo-American draft of the covenant.

This was done after a meeting on January 31 of Wilson, Smuts, Cecil, and House in House's rooms had resolved almost all Anglo-American differences on the league scheme. On Cecil's insistence it was decided at this time that the legal advisers to the British and American delegations, Sir Cecil Hurst and David Hunter Miller, should put the President's draft into a form acceptable to the British. In evolving a compromise text much of the wording was changed but, as Cecil himself relates, "the substance was for the most part unaltered."⁴⁴ The resulting Hurst-Miller draft was later accepted as a basis of discussion in the league commission, and since, to the humiliation of

⁴⁰ Cecil, *Great Experiment*, 68, 69.

⁴¹ For the text of Smuts's resolutions, see *Intimate Papers*, ed. Seymour, IV, 319-20.

⁴² Walworth, *Wilson*, II, 250.

⁴³ For Botha's speech and an account of this stormy meeting, see Lloyd George, *Memoirs*, I, 359-63. Paul Birdsall, *Versailles Twenty Years After* (New York, 1941), 73-77, comments on Wilson's position, arguing that the President won a considerable victory.

⁴⁴ *Intimate Papers*, ed. Seymour, IV, 299-300; the quotation is from Cecil, *Great Experiment*, 69.

Léon Bourgeois, the French plan was almost completely ignored, its form and spirit are definitely reflected in the league covenant as finally adopted.⁴⁵ When the Hurst-Miller draft was presented to him, Wilson complained bitterly that it lacked "warmth and color" and insisted on working through the evening of February 2 to prepare a third draft himself. But House persuaded him at the last moment not to offend Cecil who had done much for the league idea, and Hurst-Miller was allowed to go forward.⁴⁶

About the many influences on the league covenant Miller observed, "Any definite detailed draft prepared in advance by one of the parties will to some extent appear in the final text. . . ."⁴⁷ But it is clear that when the league commission first met under the President's chairmanship in House's rooms on February 3, 1919, it did so to consider a working document on which Wilson himself had exercised a commanding influence, and that the impetus and inspiration of much of this influence had come from the President's association with Smuts.⁴⁸ In the ten meetings held prior to Wilson's departure for home on February 14, and in the four after he returned to Paris later, various amendments of particular interest to the French, the Japanese, and to the United States Senate were hotly debated. Largely because of Wilson's skill and determination, seconded by House, the basic concepts remained intact.

During these crucial meetings of the league commission prior to final adoption of the covenant, Wilson had cause to be grateful to Smuts for his consistent support. Before the full commission, Colonel Stephen Bonsal noted, Smuts spoke "almost as rarely as House. His best work was done in the committees and in missionary work with recalcitrant delegates when he could play . . . a 'lone hand,' an activity in which he . . . excelled." His occasional pronouncements were wonderfully persuasive and thoroughly in accord with Wilson's long-range view. When on February 8 he was called on by the President to commend the mandates scheme to the gathering, Smuts said in part: "What we offer is not a cornerstone of a new era but we hope it is the opening wedge that if pushed will open a door to better things. A year hence, when the world has enjoyed a breathing spell and men less war-crazed have taken our place, I believe . . . that it will be possible to improve our plan."

⁴⁵ Birdsall, *Versailles*, 124-25. The French took revenge by their delaying tactics and by several modifications of the covenant "essential to their security," including abandonment of the Wilson-Smuts proposal to abolish conscription.

⁴⁶ Walworth, *Wilson*, II, 256; *Intimate Papers*, ed. Seymour, IV, 310-13.

⁴⁷ David Hunter Miller, *The Drafting of the Covenant* (2 vols., New York, 1928), I, 3.

⁴⁸ Smuts's organizational proposals are in Articles II-V; his disarmament proposals, somewhat modified, in Article VIII; his arbitration proposals in Articles XII and XIII; his proposals for dealing with covenant breaking in Articles XV and XVI; and, of course, the mandates article, XXII, virtually the text of the Smuts's proposal as accepted by Wilson on January 30, 1919.

No wonder Bonsal records that Wilson's delight as he listened was visible and that he expressed the opinion that Smuts had performed his job superbly. He paid the South African the compliment of echoing his words in his speech of February 14 presenting the covenant to the conference: "A living thing is born . . . it is practical and yet it is to purify, to rectify, to elevate."⁴⁹

Consideration of Smuts's influence on Wilson in the crucial matter of reparations, together with the South African's protests against the treaty's final form, shows clearly the ironic aspect of the Smuts-Wilson relationship. The President returned to Paris in mid-March to face the "Dark Period" of the conference, to use Baker's phrase, when as the expert commissions began to report, it became evident that the conflict between the British, French, and American solutions was real indeed. Not only was Wilson confronted with a move to revise the entire league scheme, as has been indicated, but he had to face tough bargaining on other territorial and economic matters too numerous to be mentioned here. To the harrassed delegates at Paris, moreover, the outbreak of revolution in Hungary had raised the threat of Bolshevism in the whole of Western Europe. In these weeks of supreme effort it would seem that Wilson was engaged in a battle not only for his ideals but of daily physical endurance. Friendly observers noted with dismay his gaunt visage, his unusual irritability, his more frequent headaches—Lansing had been told by Mrs. Wilson on the *George Washington* that the President must use his eyes with great care at night because one was practically sightless and the other easily inflamed. And though Paul Mantoux, the conference's official interpreter who watched the Big Four in session, relates that he never saw Wilson lose his calmness, it is evident that he was struggling desperately against a breakdown.⁵⁰

During this heroic period Smuts, who strongly distrusted the developing regime in Russia, began his well-known fight at Versailles for a peace of moderation which he warned Lloyd George on March 19 was necessary if Germany were to be saved from Bolshevism.⁵¹ The Prime Minister, alarmed by the slowness and bitterness of the Paris deliberations as well as by labor unrest at home, also felt that the treaty provisions should be reviewed; he retired to the country with a select group of advisers, including Smuts, to produce the celebrated Fontainebleau memorandum of March 25. While claiming

⁴⁹ Stephen Bonsal, *Unfinished Business* (New York, 1944), 34–36. Compare the final paragraph of Smuts's *Practical Suggestion* with Wilson's phrases. For the Japanese problem and for the French and United States amendments, see Birdsall, *Versailles*, 91–115, 125–46.

⁵⁰ Walworth, *Wilson*, II, 292, 295, 296; Desk Diary, Lansing, Dec. 8, 1918, Lansing Papers.

⁵¹ Millin, *General Smuts*, II, 230 ff. Smuts told Lloyd George, "There will be a terrible disillusionment if the peoples come to think we are not concluding a Wilson peace. . . ." *Ibid.*, II, 235.

30 per cent of the reparations figure for the British Empire, the document contained fairly moderate views on the question as a whole.⁵² Smuts was for the most part in sympathy with the details of this memorandum, though he felt the concessions were too limited. In the conference, meanwhile, there was such discord over the sums to be demanded from Germany that on March 28 the American delegation temporarily abandoned any hope of arriving at agreement upon a fixed sum. After this black day Lord Sumner, a leading British representative on the reparations committee, began to press for the inclusion of pensions and separation allowances in the bill, since he held the cost of these constituted "damages to the civilian population" as allowed for in the pre-Armistice agreement. Sumner's motive was clear. As the physical devastation of British territories was slight, the Empire's share of a reparations figure based strictly on damages to civilian property would be small. Inclusion of pensions and the like would help to offset this. When Lloyd George allowed Sumner's proposal to go forward, Wilson vehemently rejected it.⁵³

At this point Lloyd George brought in Smuts. Smuts had used, he said, both in the British Empire delegation and out of it, every scrap of influence he possessed to reduce the reparations figure to a fixed amount. In his talks with Sumner he had made it clear that he still favored the American policy of a fixed sum. But it was, he said, plain to him that if the phrase "civilian damages" were narrowly interpreted France and Belgium would get almost everything. The opinion of March 31 which he wrote at Lloyd George's request therefore argued for wide interpretation. It should be noted that Smuts was generally impatient of French pretensions both during the war and the Peace Conference. This opinion affected the President to a striking degree. The next day he met with his own reparations advisers. Realizing that the Smuts memorandum had caused Wilson to change his mind, John Foster Dulles, who had celebrated his first great international conference with an attack of mumps, attempted to appeal to logic. The President's reply has been frequently quoted: "*Logic*—I don't give a damn about *logic*. I'm going to include pensions." When the battle for the fixed sum was finally lost, the reparations amount, swollen further by pensions, became one of the treaty's worst features. Smuts had reason to regret that his influence on the President over this crucial matter later became a "vehicle of injustice to Germany."⁵⁴

⁵² For the Fontainebleau memorandum, see Lloyd George, *Memoirs*, I, 266–73; see also Birdsall's comments, *Versailles*, 185.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 246–48.

⁵⁴ Millin, *General Smuts*, II, 225. Dulles became ill early in February 1919. Desk Diary, Lansing, Feb. 5, 1919, Lansing Papers. For Wilson's attitude, see Walworth, *Wilson*, II, 293, 294.

On April 3 Wilson fell ill, and it seems likely that he suffered a slight stroke. "For three days, too weak to leave his bed, he lay resting fitfully."⁵⁵ His sickness further troubled his colleagues. Lansing noted that gloom and depression were everywhere.⁵⁶ But the President gallantly mustered strength to survive the running battles over the revision of the covenant, the Adriatic question, and the Japanese claims. A few days before the German plenipotentiaries received the Draft Treaty on May 7, Ray Stannard Baker found Wilson "so beaten out he could remember only with an effort what the Council had done in the forenoon."⁵⁷ Though he was to be little moved by the official German protests, Wilson showed marked resentment at the criticism of the compromises and shortcomings of the treaty offered by his American colleagues. In this, his natural sensitivity was probably intensified by his state of health and sheer fatigue. The treaty's final provisions caused grave disquiet among the United States delegation which at best had seldom functioned as a team. Of the commissioners, Bliss thought of resignation; Lansing, when told by Baker what Wilson had done "to keep Japan from refusing to sign [the] Covenant," replied that he could say nothing in support of so iniquitous an abandonment of China; White said he too felt like a ship "without anything in the way of principle to anchor to." Among the delegation of advisers, Bullitt quit on May 17; Baker was in a quandary as to what he should do; Norman Davis expressed his disgust; Hoover's dissent was so vigorous that Wilson took personal offense and banished him from the inner councils.⁵⁸

Everyone was therefore on edge when Smuts began a final effort to revise the treaty terms. In a letter to Wilson on May 14, he prophesied that "under this treaty Europe will know no peace" and told the President that the silent masses who had suffered were appealing to him to save them from the fate into which Europe seemed then to be lapsing. Wilson's regard for Smuts is seen in his temperate rejoinder which contrasted with his impatience with his own delegation and his general sarcasm about Lloyd George's recent changes of heart. The presentation of the massive German counterproposal on May 29 was the signal for Smuts to renew his appeal. "Even at the risk of wearying you, I venture to address you once more," he wrote Wilson on May 30. He now told the President that the Germans had struck a fundamental note when they claimed the Allies should make a Wilsonian peace. "I think we should all give our gravest consideration to the question whether

⁵⁵ Walworth assembles the medical evidence. *Wilson*, II, 297 and n. 13.

⁵⁶ Desk Diary, Lansing, Apr. 4, 1919, Lansing Papers.

⁵⁷ Walworth, *Wilson*, II, 318.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 320, 321; Desk Diary, Lansing, May 1, 1919, ff., Lansing Papers.

our Peace Treaty is within the four corners of your speeches of 1918." Again Wilson replied sympathetically, albeit vaguely, adding that he hoped the coming week might be fruitful of some important decisions.⁵⁹ To the very end Smuts continued to argue his case for revision in the British delegation, ignoring the taunts about his own position on German Southwest Africa. But Wilson, while referring caustically to those who had overridden the American delegation, was obviously in no mood or physical condition to begin anew.⁶⁰ Pinning his hope on Germany's eventual entry into the league and in the ability of that body to provide future solutions, he was evidently resigned to making the best of a bad situation. Smuts finally, despite his misgivings and largely for the sake of the dying Botha and the political future of South Africa, also signed the Versailles Treaty under protest.

In this review of a notable personal encounter, two principal facts emerge: Wilson, whose great reputation is deservedly based on his vision and sponsorship of the League of Nations, owes much in this regard to the political concepts and acumen of his friend Smuts. Equally, Smuts's ability to discover compromises and Wilson's ready acceptance of these formulas sometimes placed in jeopardy the high principles both wished to serve. This was less critical in the case of the German colonies in Africa, but had both immediate and far-reaching consequences of a disastrous sort when the reparations settlement was in question. Smuts's support of Wilson, it might be argued, is revealed as essentially expedient and partisan, used deliberately to further the interests of Britain and South Africa. Whatever the complexities of Smuts's character, such an interpretation is not consistent with the record of his statesmanship. It is more in accordance with all the evidence to regard both Smuts and Wilson at Paris as idealists under strain, bound to meet with some degree of failure. That Smuts both strengthened and weakened the Wilsonian features of the settlement is an ironic reminder that in history we must deal understandingly with the efforts of fallible men.

⁵⁹ For text of these exchanges, see Smuts to Wilson, May 14, 1919, Wilson to Smuts, May 16, 1919, Smuts to Wilson, May 29, 1919, Wilson to Smuts, May 31, 1919, Wilson Papers.

⁶⁰ For Smuts's efforts in the British delegation, see Millin, *General Smuts*, II, 235-38, 242-45.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Should We Learn More About Ourselves?

CORINNE LATHROP GILB*

FOR years historians have grappled with the problem of attaining objectivity. Some of us have concluded that beyond individual practice of the orthodox canons of careful scholarship, there is little more that can or should be done, that bias is inevitable and the variety of views that arise out of individual and free scholarly enterprise will somehow result in truth. Some contend that bias is desirable, essential even, for history as art.

Such resignation or optimism seems premature. We do not know precise facts about the biases of the individuals who comprise our profession. Most writing on historical method has discussed history as a science or an art (Should it deal with the general or unique? Is its proper form analysis or narrative?) or has dwelt on the ways of dealing with documents, the difficulties of determining what we call fact, and, in short, the methods historians use in their study, rather than the nature of historians. Too little is known in empirical terms about those who profess history, how they function, and what influences condition their views.

It may be undesirable to analyze historians and the nature of their views. The results could be used for unwise ends. But a study done with proper regard for the confidential nature of individual viewpoints might be highly enlightening and useful. Some initial studies have been made. Since 1958 the American Historical Association's Committee on Graduate Education in History has engaged in an extensive survey of the contemporary training of historians.¹ A large-scale study of the origins, motivations, problems, and

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¹ Financed by a grant to the American Historical Association from the Carnegie Corporation of New York City, the work of this committee grew out of a presidential address by Dexter Perkins to the American Historical Association in 1956. The committee has included Dexter Perkins as chairman, Jacques Barzun, Fred Harvey Harrington, Edward C. Kirkland, Leonard Krieger, and Boyd C. Shafer. John Snell has been director of this study. A volume, "The Education of Historians in America," will be published by McGraw-Hill in the fall of 1961.

predilections of graduate students, including those in history, is now being made out of the University of Chicago by the National Opinion Research Center. The Social Science Research Council has touched upon the subject in its bulletins on historical method and the social sciences,² and historians have been included in several studies of various phases of academic life and outlook.³ All of these studies are admittedly only beginnings. Should we go further, delve deeper?

A survey of the economic, ethnic, social, and religious backgrounds of historians might bring more insight into some of the factors that may condition the writing of history. Are most professors of history in the United States white, Protestant, and male? From what economic levels do they come? Are they the products of cities and towns? Historians were included in the survey of *The Academic Mind* by Paul Lazarsfeld and Wagner Thielens, Jr.,⁴ but it might be valuable to have a survey specifically on the "historian's mind," yielding data to be presented in anonymous and statistical terms on the occupations of the parents, the places of birth, the race and sex, the present and previous religious and political affiliations, the occupational background, the places of residence, and other pertinent information about those who teach and write history.⁵ A study of this kind could also show us something of the nature of the differing specialists—whether Americans who specialize in European history, for instance, differ in background from those who specialize in American history.

There are obvious limitations to the insights that can be derived from survey research. Psychological studies of the motivations, value judgments, personality traits, attitudes, and working patterns of individual historians are perhaps needed.

Modern psychology tells us that choices are usually not the result of accidental influence, but are made in response to deeper psychological drives.

² Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 54, *Theory and Practice in Historical Study* (New York, 1946), and Bulletin 64, *The Social Sciences in Historical Study* (New York, 1954).

³ See Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Wagner Thielens, Jr., *The Academic Mind: Social Scientists in a Time of Crisis* (Glencoe, Ill., 1958); Logan Wilson, *The Academic Man: A Study in the Sociology of a Profession* (New York, 1942); Theodore Caplow and Reece McGee, *The Academic Marketplace* (New York, 1958).

⁴ They used a random sample of 681 historians. Under the auspices of the Ford Humanities Project at Princeton University, Robert Knapp of Wesleyan University is currently making a full-scale study of the origins and social background of historians, philosophers, and literary scholars. There have been other general studies of the social origins of professors. See B. W. Kunkel, "A Survey of College Teachers," *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, XXIV (Mar. 1938), 262.

⁵ Some writing has been done, of course, about historians who fall into certain ethnic or religious categories. See Earl E. Thorpe, *Negro Historians in the United States* (Baton Rouge, La., 1958). An empirical investigation of historians' religious beliefs was made by James H. Leuba in 1914 and again in 1933. The beliefs of physicists, biologists, sociologists, and psychologists were also studied, and the results were reported in James H. Leuba, *The Belief in God and Immortality: A Psychological, Anthropological and Statistical Study* (Boston, 1916), and *The Reformation of the Churches* (Boston, 1950).

In choosing a vocation, people are often motivated by a desire for fame and fortune, for power and status, for freedom and variety, for creative outlets and good companionship, for security or a desire to serve others. A man of gentle temperament might be attracted to history because he deplors the tough give and take of business or the law. Or one who is temperamentally a conservative might be attracted to history because it supports his wish for a close link with the past. A man from a lower-middle-class family might see the position of a professor of history as one of security and prestige. A psychological analysis might be difficult to do, but it would be valuable to know what motives predominate among those who choose to go into history, in what order, with what effect upon historical scholarship, and how historians compare in motivations with those who choose to go into other professions.

Once the historian has entered the profession, has chosen a field in which to specialize, and has begun to lecture and to write, he must constantly weigh and assess, select and reject, as he faces the raw material of history. Some of his criteria for selection may be conscious and articulate: he may think an event or person or institution important because it has affected the lives of a great number of people; he may select his material in terms of the amount of publicity an event, idea, or person has received; or he may assess what was important in the past on the basis of his notions about the present or even of predictions about the future. Other not so conscious considerations may creep into the process. Frederick J. Teggart once said, "The selection of materials by the historian and the mode in which he presents his theme are determined by the conscious or unconscious desire to glorify the actions of the group to which he belongs."⁶ Thomas Cochran has charged that historians take the written record "easiest to use and most stirring from a sentimental or romantic standpoint."⁷ Others have said that considerations of literary style affect the choice of subjects, for example, the desire to narrate an exciting story or to maintain stylistic unity. Some historians may feel more at home with ideas, with words, and so are apt to be attracted to and attach most importance to subjects or events that have an obvious ideological content. Others, because of distaste for the material aspects of everyday life, may refuse to study tax or census records. The historian's own character and temperament may also influence his reaction to events and personalities of the past. So will certain acquired attitudes and value judgments. As Howard K. Beale asserted, "even in 'objective' history, the historian's own attitude toward the place of the Negro in human society, toward the relative im-

⁶ Frederick J. Teggart, *Theory and Processes of History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1941), 28.

⁷ In *The Varieties of History*, ed. Fritz Stern (New York, 1956), 351. Based on an article first published in the *American Historical Review*, LIII (July 1948), 748.

portance of property and human rights, or toward the desirability of an agrarian or an urban way of life becomes significant, as does his belief in or distrust of democracy or aristocracy."⁸ Very likely a historian's attitudes and interpretations may also change as he grows older.⁹

Historians are, of course, aware of a variety of ways in which their individual biases may influence their choice of subjects, their methodology, and their interpretations. New research into the subject may give the profession more thorough and accurate knowledge of itself and might delineate in fuller and more precise form the forces that touch the historian. Contemporary social scientists have developed elaborate techniques to study the processes of decision making in business and in government. It could be just as important to study the decisions scholars make. Reporting their conclusions in abstract and anonymous terms, a team of historians and psychologists might, as one way of proceeding, survey a representative sampling of historical textbooks for recurrent themes and implicit attitudes; analyze the changes in attitude manifest in some historians' writing over a period of years; and then ask the historians themselves about their methods of work. Certainly some historians might frown on the prospect of undergoing psychologists' depth interviews and personality tests. Yet it is entirely possible that a reasonable sampling of historians would be willing to be interviewed (as physicists, biologists, anthropologists, and other scientists have been willing).¹⁰

A study of the functioning of the profession could stop at the exploration of the motivations and attitudes of individuals, but it might also be enlightening to analyze the cultural and institutional environment in which those individuals work. Using the traditional sociological concepts of social role, social status, and social function, Florian Znaniecki has made a general analysis of men of knowledge. He describes the discoverer of truth, the systematizer, the contributor, the fighter for truth, the eclectic and historian of knowledge, the disseminator of knowledge, and the explorer, and he speaks with considerable insight about the role and function of each one.¹¹ Perhaps historians would fall into other categories as well.

⁸ Howard K. Beale, "What Historians Have Said About the Causes of the Civil War," *Social Sciences in Historical Study*, 87.

⁹ There have been studies of the correlation between age and productivity in scholars. See B. N. Meltzer, "The Productivity of Social Scientists," *American Journal of Sociology*, LV (July 1949), 25.

¹⁰ See, for example, Anne Roe, "Analysis of Group Rorschachs of Biologists," *Journal of Projective Techniques*, XIII (No. 1, 1949), 25, "A Study of Imagery in Research Scientists," *Journal of Personality*, XIX (June 1951), 459, "Analysis of Group Rorschachs of Psychologists and Anthropologists," *Journal of Projective Techniques*, XVI (June 1952), 212, "Group Rorschachs of University Faculties," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, XVI (Feb. 1952), 18, *The Making of a Scientist* (New York, 1952), *The Psychology of Occupations* (New York, 1956).

¹¹ Florian Znaniecki, *The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge* (New York, 1940).

Whatever is done, we could use more factual information about the nature of the historian's social environment.¹² If historians generally confine their work and social relationships to others within the profession, then this must have an appreciable effect upon their values and habits of work. If, as we know, they tend to associate with members of certain academic professions rather than others, this is relevant. If they have many or few relationships outside the academic world, with what kinds of groups do they associate? What percentage participate in politics, and in what ways? What percentage travel, and where do they go? Who goes to scholarly conferences, who does not, and what influence do such conferences have upon historical writing? To what extent is historical writing influenced by the nature of "the academic market place" and by the economics of publication? And what is the effect of the private foundations upon historical scholarship?

Academic historians in the United States were first preoccupied with political history because that was what was respectable in Europe at the time, and they were trying to establish their academic respectability. By 1910 the historian could afford to listen to the dissenting voices of Carl Becker, Frederick Jackson Turner, and James Harvey Robinson because by that time history had become stabilized and institutionalized as a profession.¹³ If the development of the profession as a profession has had strong influence on the methodology and emphases of history, then it is important to ascertain what the profession's current status is in the academic world and what effect this has on the history now being written.

The questions that might be asked are endless. A historian's values and activities are influenced by professional standards, but they are also adapted to the institutional needs of his employer. To what extent do the exigencies of departmental or college jurisdiction or of course content for teaching purposes influence the kinds of history being taught and written? The question is often asked, can a Catholic historian in a Catholic university write history which tends to refute traditional Catholic tenets? We do not ask an equally legitimate question, to what extent do historians in public universities and colleges work within the ideological confines of the Protestant ethic?

Research librarians and other nonhistorical professional groups surely must influence the methodology and content of historical writing, but we do

¹² Insights into the historian's situation might be gained from such general works as S. M. Lipset, "American Intellectuals: Their Politics and Status," *Daedalus*, LXXXVIII (Summer 1959), 460; Theodore Caplow, *The Sociology of Work* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1954); Everett C. Hughes, *Men and Their Work* (Glencoe, Ill., 1958); Arthur Kornhauser, *Problems of Power in American Democracy* (Detroit, Mich., 1957); C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (New York, 1959).

¹³ See *Theory and Practice in Historical Study*, 25.

not know exactly in what ways and how much. If historians tend to confine themselves to subjects for which documentation has already been collected, then perhaps we need a more thorough analysis of the sociology of archive collecting. Since research libraries are often financed by gifts and endowments, historians need insight into what kinds of people or organizations preserve records about themselves and subsidize archive collecting, and with what motivations. If the research library caters to the interests of the groups most likely to donate gifts and endowments, then what types of events, institutions, and interpretations are neglected as a result of this? Whatever constitutes power or prestige for a research librarian is bound to affect his decisions about what archives to collect. Many people think that what has been well publicized or, on the contrary, what is very rare must therefore be important. It is possible that the librarian's criteria of importance do not coincide with all the needs of scholarship.

Historians are influenced not only by their fellow professionals and the institutions within which they work but by the attitudes and interests of the great public audience which in one way or another pays their bills and to whom most of them sooner or later, directly or indirectly, will address themselves. To understand the historian, it is obvious we must try to understand the culture in which he lives and the psychological and institutional functions historical writing performs in that culture. We might, for example, seek deeper understanding of why the Western world seems to want so much of its history written about change and conflict, anguish and struggle, pain and sin. We might learn why some social classes are more historical-minded than others and why a region or an organization begins to demonstrate an interest in its own past at one particular time. We might explore the motivations that cause a business corporation, a trade-union, or a church to take an organized interest in its own history, and we might note with care and perception what aspects of their own history these organizations emphasize most, when, and why.

If our profession sets out to achieve a greater degree of self-awareness than it now has, it should not do so as a substitute for but rather as an aid toward greater wisdom and insight, not as a panacea for all its problems but as a first step toward a richer union of scientific study and human art. It is possible that the results of all the studies herein suggested will tell the profession only a little more than it knows already. The evidence may show that personal and environmental influences are almost entirely offset by rigorous professional training. We may decide that biases are indeed inevitable and even desirable. Nevertheless, the evidence should be gathered, weighed, and

utilized for whatever it is worth. Surely there is something to be said for that age-old adage, "Know thyself."

[Comments on this Note and Suggestion, which represents Mrs. Gilb's views, will be welcomed, and two or three, if short, may be published at a later date.]

* * * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * * *

General

THE NEW CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY. Volume XII, THE ERA OF VIOLENCE, 1898-1945. Edited by *David Thomson*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1960. Pp. xx, 602. \$7.50.)

HALF a century ago Lord Acton edited the *Cambridge Modern History* which has helped many graduate students review for their general examinations. Now Sir George Clark is bringing out a *New Cambridge Modern History* of similar scope, of which this is the last volume of narrative (to be followed by two reference volumes), and the fifth to be completed. It is the work of twenty-two authors, drawn from the armed services, the clergy, journalism, and from academic life. The treatment is to some extent world-wide in scope although, as in the case of the earlier series, the particular emphasis is on Europe. A history of this type is an ambitious undertaking; to be successful it must offer both a convincing general interpretation and a reasonably comprehensive organization of materials. It cannot be said that this volume meets either of these criteria with distinction, although it includes some able individual chapters.

The central theme, reflected not only in the title but also in the introductory and concluding chapters by David Thomson, is violence as the principal characteristic of the first half of the twentieth century. By this is meant not only the massive violence of two world wars and the violence to economic institutions resulting from the Great Depression, but also the violence evidenced in domestic political and social change. So far, so good; but only so far. Few would question that there has been much violence in the first half, or that there may be more in the second half, of the twentieth century. There was also much violence in previous centuries, although perhaps we expect less of these earlier times in this regard than we do of our own. But this violence is a reflection of deeper forces that are at work. These are described with considerable skill in separate chapters, but one expects more than mere description in a volume of this type. Why and in what respects have the expansion of knowledge and the accompanying economic growth and social change led to such an extensive disintegration of traditional institutions and values? This is certainly a large question, but one may properly ask large questions of a collaborative volume devoted to a large subject. Not only is it inadequately treated here, but it is not squarely confronted.

This preoccupation with violence rather than with the sources of violence appears to be the result in part of self-imposed limitations and in part of an unnecessarily haphazard scheme of organization. The particular emphasis on Europe

inhibits the discussion of the non-European developments which are essential to an understanding of the violence in Europe. An able team has been drafted to write the chapter on Asia and North Africa, with sections on the Near and Middle East and North Africa (by Bernard Lewis), on India (by C. H. Philips), and on Southeast Asia and the Far East (by D. G. E. Hall), but they are allotted a total of only thirty-one pages and are concerned more with the waning of European political influence than with the transformation of domestic institutions. By contrast, ninety-one pages are devoted to the armed forces and the art of war (by Admiral Sir G. J. A. Miles, the late Field Marshall Earl Wavell, and Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Longmore), and on the war of 1914-1918 (by C. T. Atkinson), although there is no chapter on the war of 1939-1945. The treatments of the United States (by D. W. Brogan) and of Latin America (by J. H. Parry) are too brief to offer much opportunity for interpretation. Isaac Deutscher's account of the Russian Revolution not only stops in 1924, but also neglects the last decades of czarist Russia, thus omitting the two periods of most rapid economic and social change. This shortcoming is scarcely redeemed by the brief discussion of Soviet planning in a later chapter.

This is not to say that there is little of value here, but rather that the volume is surprisingly uneven. The chapters on economic change (by G. C. Allen), on the transformation of social life (by David Thomson), on political institutions in Europe (by the late Sir Robert Ensor), on science and technology (by Douglas McKie), and on economic interdependence and planned economics (by Asa Briggs) set a high standard. There is also a reasonably comprehensive discussion of the first world crisis in the chapters on international relations, 1910-1912 (by J. P. T. Bury), the approach of the war of 1914 (by J. M. K. Vyvyan), the war of 1914-1918, already cited, and the peace settlements in Europe (by Rohan Butler) and in the Pacific (by J. W. Davidson).

At the same time, the volume as a whole does not provide the insights that one expects of a major new interpretation of modern history. In the final paragraph of his concluding chapter the editor refers to the "urgent need for greater readjustments in the conceptual framework of European thought," and indeed such a need is reflected by the shortcomings of this volume. There is much that still needs to be said about the changes that have taken place in the relationship of Europe to non-Europe in the past half century; an understanding of this relationship is vital both to history and to politics.

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CYRIL E. BLACK

ISLAM AND THE WEST: THE MAKING OF AN IMAGE. By *Norman Daniel*. (Edinburgh: the University Press; distrib. by Quadrangle Books. 1960. Pp. ix, 443. \$12.50.)

ACCORDING to the author, two factors should be conducive nowadays to a more

sympathetic approach in the Christian's study of Islam. In the Middle Ages Islam was considered a menace to Christian beliefs and Christian civilization so that Christian polemicists were primarily concerned with inducing hatred for it in Western minds. But as this menace gradually diminished, an objective attitude toward Islam was free to develop. In the second place, Christianity and Islam today face a common enemy in the scientific atheists who would destroy them both. It would be imprudent, therefore, needlessly or willfully to exaggerate the differences between the two religions. Instead, Islam should be studied for its own sake without either the propaganda motif or the hatred that characterized earlier interest in that religion.

This eminently reasonable and objective attitude sets the tone for this work, even though its primary concern is not with contemporary Christian-Moslem relations but with the Christian idea of Islam during the period A.D. 1100-1350. To be sure, the attitude of Christian writers in that period was anything but objective. In presenting their opinions and in comparing them with what Moslems actually believed or did, however, the author is both knowledgeable and fair.

The beginnings of Christian interest in Islam as a religion go back to St. John of Damascus, but the subject did not receive serious consideration in the West until the beginning of the twelfth century. From then until the middle of the fourteenth, which date Daniel characterizes as arbitrary but convenient, a large body of material on the beliefs and practices of the Moslems was accumulated. The author has examined this material to delineate the deformed image that was fashioned for Islam in the West and to explain the motives, conscious or unconscious, that lay behind the distortion. In a penetrating concluding chapter he has briefly surveyed the subsequent history of the medieval concepts about Islam down to the present time.

In a bibliographical note Daniel reviews the modern literature on the subject starting with the publication in 1944 of Monneret de Villard's *Studio dell' Islam in Europa*. He has special praise for the series of articles published by M. T. d'Alverny. The present work has a double merit: it is the only satisfactory treatment of this important theme in English, and it is the culmination of all previous works on the subject.

I am in no position to judge whether the author has exhausted all the Latin manuscript and printed material, but I am impressed by the use of Arabic sources in arriving at the authentic Islamic doctrine in any particular matter and in pointing out the deviations in the Latin sources from the Arabic original. Among the modern books cited, however, one misses *Petrus Venerabilis* (Rome, 1956) edited by Giles Constable and James Kritzeck.

Daniel's topical approach dictated his reviewing the writings of individual medieval authors with regard to particular points of Islamic beliefs and practices in succeeding chapters. This is slightly confusing to the reader who is unfamiliar with the personalities involved.

The book is a very serious work that no scholar of Islam or of medieval European history, let alone of Christian-Moslem relations, can afford to miss. Its value is enhanced by copious notes, by five appendixes on important questions of detail, and by an extensive bibliography.

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FARHAT J. ZIADEH

RELIGION AND THE RISE OF SCEPTICISM. By *Franklin L. Baumer*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1960. Pp. x, 308. \$5.95.)

THIS is a history of what the author calls the "sceptical tradition" from the seventeenth century to the present. Professor Baumer identifies four major phases: the first epitomized by Boyle, the second by Voltaire, the third by Nietzsche, and the fourth by Arthur Koestler. In my judgment the best part of the work is devoted to the fourth phase, with its discussion of the literature of "The Age of Longing" and a provocative analysis of the contemporary psychic crisis as reflected in "A Layman's Religion." Both of the concluding chapters cite examples from a broad field of twentieth-century scientists, moralists, and religious thinkers.

Baumer's study has led him to the discovery of three fundamental elements in the modern "layman's religion," a felicitous term for which he credits Herbert of Cherbury, who established five principles of deism at a time when there was an analogous need for the definition of a latitudinarian religious position beyond the traditional, institutionalized affirmations of the rival churches. The first constituent of the layman's religion is called polymorphism (a concept derived from Troeltsch, who came to believe that religious truth could in different times and places assume a variety of forms which were not contradictory). The second constituent, the "vanity of dogmatizing" (a phrase drawn from Glanvill), is an expression of the negative feeling that dogma is unprovable in any current theological language. Today's "sceptical religion" cannot be associated with a specific creed. The third constituent is a growing recognition of the wisdom embodied in myths and symbols, with the implication that they must be cultivated by modern man for his soul's sake. In his historical sections the author might well have remarked that the rebirth of respect for mythopoeic cognition harks back to the same eighteenth century in which Voltaire was king. Recognition of the religious import of myth by Herder and Hamann was a creative turning point in world thought. Depth psychologists are becoming dominant in this area today; they are a hidden force shaping the layman's religious sensibility. Baumer's emphasis on the pervasive influence of the Jungian school is convincing.

His work is more analytical than the dated history of free thought by John M. Robertson, but the author may have set himself an impossible task when he undertook, within the brief compass of this volume, to elucidate the historical tradition of skepticism over the last four centuries. Such an exposition, as he is aware, would really involve a history of Christianity since the nature of skepticism

changed with the nature of Christian belief. Eighteenth-century skepticism, with which he begins, is far more nuanced than it is presented here. From the eighteenth century Baumer takes a backward look at the seventeenth-century religious position in a chapter that does not really do justice to the first major confrontation of science and religion in the Boylian or Newtonian world. The chapter on nineteenth-century skepticism is best on the English, adequate on the Germans, and less satisfactory in its treatment of the French thinkers. The author might have uncovered the deep roots of the age of anxiety and longing, his fourth phase, in early nineteenth-century European romanticism with its poignant depiction of the religious crisis.

His achievement, however, is considerable. He has expounded his thesis intelligently and sensitively, avoiding both orthodoxy and "village atheism" as points of reference. And he has given us an excellent compendium of evidence on our present religious predicament.

Brandeis University

FRANK E. MANUEL

BRITAIN AND ARGENTINA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By
H. S. Ferns. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 517. \$10.10.)

Mr. Ferns has provided us for the first time with a comprehensive, detailed, and documented account of Great Britain's relations with Argentina in the nineteenth century. His book combines many conspicuous virtues with some palpable, serious, and avoidable defects. On balance, its virtues prevail by a margin wide enough to make it a most welcome addition to the literature of the subject. And yet, with informed readers, the welcome must be tinged with regret that Ferns did not develop this good study into a first-rate one.

On the credit side there are four major items. First, the theme is important from both the British and the Argentine point of view. In the course of the nineteenth century, British trade, business enterprise, and capital investment played a major role in the social, political, and economic transformation of Argentina. Conversely, Argentina bulked so large in the British economy that in 1890, for instance, the "Baring crisis" in Argentina threatened for a time to bring down the Bank of England. Second, Ferns has made thorough use of British sources, manuscript as well as printed, especially the papers of the Foreign Office. Third, he handles economic concepts and data with a sureness of touch not often encountered among his predecessors in this field. He has, finally, a breadth of vision not altogether common among economic historians and realizes that, as he puts it, "economic growth . . . is dependent at every stage upon political decisions and organization and more remotely upon the faith and values of the community."

The product of this combination of virtues is the best account we have yet been given of the impact of modern technology, business enterprise, and capital investment on any Latin American country; and Argentina is the prime example of

that impact in this period. The story has been told many times, but, from the British point of view, it has never been told before with such clarity, precision, and completeness.

The chief criticism of the book is that the point of view is too British. Hardly any but British sources are cited; even the statistical appendixes give only British data. A collateral defect is the neglect of most previous studies in the field. The neglect was apparently deliberate, but this is not the way to write history. If, for example, Ferns had consulted his compatriot Robin Humphreys' *Liberation in South America*, he would have written a better account of British contacts with the Río de la Plata area early in the nineteenth century, nor does the weight of authority sustain his apparently arbitrary disparagement of that outstanding Argentine leader of the late nineteenth century, Carlos Pellegrini. As for the relations of the United States, France, and other countries with Argentina, his comments on these are brief, superficial, and at times misleading.

The book is thus rather parochial and, historiographically, old fashioned. It is nevertheless an illuminating "case history touching many problems of great contemporary interest," as the author describes it. Some of these problems are discussed in the concluding chapter, which contains a defense of Great Britain against the charge of imperialism. Though gallant, and, to my mind, persuasive as far as it goes, this defense does not answer all the counts in the case against imperialism as presented by its many critics in contemporary Argentina.

University of Pennsylvania

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

CHRISTIANITY IN A REVOLUTIONARY AGE: A HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES. Volume III, THE NINETEENTH CENTURY OUTSIDE EUROPE: THE AMERICAS, THE PACIFIC, ASIA, AND AFRICA. By *Kenneth Scott Latourette*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1961. Pp. viii, 527. \$7.50.)

THE third of a projected five-volume history of Christianity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this volume consists of a description of the world-wide expansion of Christianity in the nineteenth-century Americas, the Pacific, Asia, and Africa. It is accompanied by careful documentation and a sometimes too detailed presentation of main events and ideas of American Protestantism and Catholicism. Considerable attention is given to the different viewpoints of American Protestantism and Catholicism in regard to separation of church and state and the development of sectarianism and revivalism. The contest between French Catholicism and English Protestantism for religious domination in Canada and the revolutionary religious changes in Latin America are also presented. In addition, there is a panoramic discussion of the expanding missionary activities of Christianity in China, Korea, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, the islands of the Pacific, and North and South Africa. A general idea of the coverage may be

gained from the fact that Professor Latourette deals effectively with such topics as American development of ecclesiastical organizations and leadership, Christianity and education and the response to intellectual currents, and the effect of Christianity on the United States. A comparison of Roman Catholic and Protestant missions and the consideration of their contributions to American education and intellectual movements are interesting.

Latourette's loyalties as an American Baptist become slightly apparent only when he seems to overemphasize the role of New England and New Englanders in all good movements. There is, for example, a tendency to give too little notice to the unique Quaker leadership in the antislavery movement and too much weight to the New England role.

A confusing peculiarity of organization is that Latourette constantly refers ahead or back to other topics or chapters and fails to give sustained confrontation to movements in any one place. Other slight faults are the occasional sketchy handling of important people and events. For example, he gives inadequate emphasis to the achievements of the Society of Friends in American social reform and to the work and influence of Alexander Campbell and Bishop John Heyl Vincent. It would be beneficial if the many short sketches of individuals were more detailed and interesting and if the author had included a more intensive study of the various pietistic evangelical movements along the American frontier. His treatment of the antislavery movement does not compare in strength or depth with the very effective section on the social gospel. The general treatment of intellectual currents seems to be marked by omissions and to be based largely on secondary material rather than on the presentation of new research or interpretation.

Latourette apparently considers the nineteenth century as a period of religious revival and believes that the Protestant aspect is even more important than the Catholic growth and expansion. I am not sure that this optimistic and liberal supposition is adequately documented. This is not to say that Latourette ignores the vast materialistic, anti-Christian forces of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, yet he calls the former "the great century" and says "the twentieth century was one of the greatest days in the history of Christianity and that, if the world was viewed as a whole, never before had Christ been as influential in the affairs of the human race."

One wonders if, and to what extent, non-Christians will agree with his affirmation that these two centuries have produced a significant liberal restatement of the Christian faith and that Christianity has penetrated deeply into modern world cultures and institutions.

Latourette has written a useful book based on phenomenal knowledge of the sources of the major cultural factors as well as of a vast variety of denominational and interdenominational groups. In spite of occasional superficial faults of emphasis, it should become a valuable reference work as it covers an enormous number of facts and presents them in an encyclopedic and objective report. The style

is clear and competent, although occasionally tiring in its unadorned exposition. Paradoxically, it is most interesting in those rare sections when the author ventures his very occasional generalizations.

Sweet Briar College

ANNE PANNELL

A HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT. Volume V, SOCIALISM AND FASCISM, 1931-1939. By *G. D. H. Cole*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1960. Pp. xvi, 350. \$8.00.)

THIS is the capstone of a five-volume history of socialism (actually seven books since Volumes III and IV are each in two parts). The over-all title for the series is misleading. Encompassing far more than a history of socialist thought, it constitutes, in fact, an encyclopedia of the international socialist movement. Volume V, moreover, is the valediction of the late Professor Cole, a dedicated socialist, who died, at the age of seventy, in January 1959. Its concluding chapter, "Looking Backwards and Forwards," gives his final judgment on socialism and its various derivatives both in terms of past successes and future prospects. This same chapter is also an excellent summary of the contents of all five volumes.

The 1930's constituted a bleak decade for social democracy. Buffeted by ideological warfare with the Communists, proscribed by fascist and reactionary governments, and bypassed in the United States by New Deal reform capitalism, social democracy was practically everywhere reduced to fighting for its political existence. Only in the Scandinavian countries did socialists enjoy a modicum of success, and this largely because they subordinated long-range goals to short-range social welfare and economic recovery programs. In France, the socialists had a brief taste of power under Léon Blum's Popular Front government, but could not cope with depression problems, demands made on them by other elements in their electoral coalition, and foreign policy issues posed by German and Italian aggression.

Likewise for social democracy's black sheep cousin, Communism, the 1930's were a highly troubled period. Nowhere had the Russians succeeded in exporting their revolution. Indeed, the prospect of a Communist world revolution seemed more chimerical than ever. Inside the Soviet Union Stalin's bloody dictatorship brought famine, slave labor camps, and purges that rocked the country and terrorized its citizens. Yet for all of this, said Cole, there was present a dynamism that could be neither talked nor written away. The Five-Year Plan, though taking a terrible toll in human terms, accomplished what Stalin demanded of it: it industrialized the Soviet Union and made it a power to be reckoned with in world affairs.

While deploring the barbarities of Stalin's rule, Cole found Soviet foreign policy during the 1930's defensible. In the Spanish Civil War, for example, the Soviet Union undeniably had ulterior motives, but it did aid the embattled Re-

public which could not be said of the Western democracies whose policy of non-intervention all but doomed it to extinction. And with Hitler's progressing from one conquest to another, the Soviet Union sought a common front with the West only to be spurned. Granted the internal turmoil in the Soviet Union was sufficient to make Western statesmen cautious, but given the alternative of the Nazis, the most elementary political reasoning called for stronger, not looser, ties with Moscow. The mulishness of Western diplomacy, Cole maintained, gave the Kremlin little choice than to come to temporary terms with Hitler in 1939.

There will be those who will find errors scattered here and there throughout Cole's five volumes. There will be those who will question some of his judgments. And since this volume was published posthumously, there will be those who maintain that it should have been edited more carefully so as to eliminate needless repetition, a complaint that could be made against all of the volumes, but *A History of Socialist Thought*, it may be predicted, will not be superseded for many years to come.

University of Massachusetts

HOWARD H. QUINT

SPAIN AND DEFENSE OF THE WEST: ALLY AND LIABILITY. By Arthur P. Whitaker. (New York: Harper and Brothers for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1961. Pp. xviii, 408. \$6.00.)

It is refreshing to have a trained historian, especially an authority on Spanish affairs, deal with recent and contemporary Spain. There has been too much journalistic and partisan writing about the Spanish Republic, the Civil War, and the Franco regime, with much nourishing of deeply rooted political antipathies and religious prejudice.

Mr. Whitaker is well informed. He has read extensively in the vast controversial literature, both Spanish and English, has often traveled in Spain, and has talked with a wide variety of Spaniards, including General Franco. He recognizes that the Spanish Civil War was only incidentally a duel between the Axis and the Soviet Union; basically it was a Spanish conflict, "a culmination of a century and a quarter of civil conflict, and Franco's uprising only the last of a long line of *pronunciamentos* [forty-three between 1814 and 1923]."

The present work centers in the pros and cons of the Spanish-American agreement, a practical military alliance, of 1953. Should democratic America have made it? In a word, should strategic considerations outweigh ideological ones? Does not the agreement bolster the Franco dictatorship and frustrate our democratic leadership in NATO and throughout the world? Is it really useful and will it last? The author favors negative answers to the first two questions, affirmative to the third, and equivocal to the fourth. He obviously tries to be fair, however, and he is certainly judicious and illuminating in the valuable chapters he presents on the historic background, the supporters and opponents of the Franco regime, current

economic conditions and the "stabilization plan" of 1958, the Church, foreign policy, and the attitude of Spain's neighbors, "problems and prospects."

As becomes the historian, the author is chary of predicting the future. He is rightly skeptical, I think, about Franco's retirement or overthrow in any foreseeable future unless the new stabilization plan fails and economic conditions gravely worsen, and about any early restoration of a republican government, still too discredited by memories of the 1930's. He likewise discounts the chance of a Communist triumph and believes that Franco is most likely to be succeeded eventually by a limited monarchy whose strength will depend upon cooperation between Christian Democrats and Socialists. If this transpires, it should assure the endurance and value of our alliance with Spain.

Some of the author's statements and interpretations provoke at least minor dissent. For instance, I think he exaggerates Franco's "eagerness" to enter the war in 1940 on the side of the Axis and neglects the services that Count Jordana as Foreign Minister rendered the Allies in 1942-1944 before the tide turned in their favor. It was Jordana, not the later Artajo, who purged "Hispanidad" of its "Yankeeaphobe connotations." Again, it is not "preposterous," but quite arguable, that the attempted international ostracism of Spain in 1945-1947 "represented appeasement of the Soviet Union"; nor is it "a legend" that Franco was thereby strengthened rather than weakened within Spain. Dubious, too, is the contention that "Franco Spain" should be excluded from NATO on ideological grounds, while including Portugal and Turkey, especially in view of the contrary stand now taken, for more compelling strategic reasons, by France, West Germany, and the United States. One might wish, besides, that less political significance were attached to *Opus Dei* within Spain, and more attention given to the importance to the United States of the cultural ties, regardless of politics, between Spain and Spanish America.

The book is attractive in format and equipped with extensive bibliography and full index.

Columbia University

CARLTON J. H. HAYES

THE WAR: A CONCISE HISTORY, 1939-1945. By *Louis L. Snyder*. Foreword by *Eric Sevaroid*. (New York: Julian Messner. 1960. Pp. xxiii, 579. \$7.95.)

PERHAPS it is impossible to write a satisfying history of World War II in a single volume. Professor Snyder, whose specialty is modern Germany and German nationalism, has made a brave effort to do so, the first of its kind in a decade. He devotes nearly a fifth of his volume to the background and aftermath of the war, and in between he describes most of the significant military operations and some of the preparations for them, especially those of the United States. He justifiably allots European and Mediterranean operations more than twice the space he gives to the Pacific war, since this is a history of the war as a whole and not of American

participation in it. His style is lively, indeed almost journalistic, in marked contrast to much of what has been written about the war by others.

One notable omission is a year's action in North Africa, 1941-42. In resuming that story, the author properly characterizes El Alamein as a great victory for the Allies, but his judgment that "the course of Western society was decided on these dreary sands of North Africa" is only one of a number that I believe open to question. Too frequently the emphasis is on the dramatic events that made the news, such as the Doolittle raid, the Hess incident, and the capture of the Remagen Bridge. Economic and logistical factors, except for the American build-up, are touched on lightly or bypassed; and the work leaves something to be desired in its coverage of military diplomacy and grand strategy. The Pacific story ends with a fairly full account of the development and dropping of the atomic bombs, but Soviet entry into the Far Eastern war is not even mentioned.

The principal criticism of this work must be that, whatever its merits as a concise history, it lacks precision. On page 184 the author tells about the Ogdensburg meeting and destroyer-base exchange in 1940; contrary to his statements, Canada was not a training ground for United States airmen and troops before the meeting, the dates of the two events were August 17 and September 2; bases in Newfoundland and Bermuda were not obtained in exchange for destroyers, since President Roosevelt meticulously complied with the resolution of Congress governing the disposal of surplus military property, and the United States did not act speedily to garrison and fortify the new bases acquired. Nor was the non-transfer principle of the Monroe Doctrine exactly new in 1940. The description of the Pearl Harbor attack opens with General Marshall's sending a last minute warning to army headquarters at the Pearl Harbor Naval Base, although there is no mention of the earlier and more significant alerts; 353, not 260, Japanese planes participated in the attack, none of them was a "big four-motored job," and very few of them flew in "through the fleecy clouds over towering Diamond Head." The strength of the United States Army is given as twelve million men and 200,000 women, whereas the actual peak strength of both was 8,300,000. It is stated that of seventeen thousand vessels sailing to Britain under American naval protection during the war only seventeen were sunk by U-boats. Would that it had been so. Just one convoy, SC-107, lost fifteen in three days in early November 1942.

If the general reader and student of the war will bear these shortcomings in mind, he can peruse Snyder's work with considerable pleasure and profit. The maps are adequate, and the index is good. Instead of footnotes or a bibliography, the author has appended a list of suggested readings. He has also added a brief chronology and a glossary of the major wartime conferences.

Department of the Army

STETSON CONN

Ancient and Medieval

HELLENISTIC CULTURE: FUSION AND DIFFUSION. By *Moses Hadas*.
(New York: Columbia University Press. 1959. Pp. vi, 324. \$6.00.)

PROFESSOR Hadas is well known for the breadth of his learning, the wide scope of his interests, and the felicity of his style. In the present volume all three characteristics are again combined to delight the reader and to instruct the student. If he sometimes writes too fast, he also writes brilliantly; if he sometimes heaps the plate with too lavish a hand, he can also be careful and discriminating.

The first 120-odd pages are the best part of the volume; only then does he begin to insist on the pervasive influence of Hellenism in a number of the hagiographic books of the Hebrew Bible. But there is not one of the twenty chapters that one would like to see omitted, even when one disagrees most vigorously with the author's theses. To be sure, in a book that is so full of original ideas and novel combinations one is bound to cavil at details. We shall pick out a few at random before discussing his approach to the literature of the Old Testament. Criticisms are based on new finds.

His remarks, for instance, about the secondary character of the process of Grecizing Trojan heroes in Homer are no longer true. As shown by the archaeological research of James Mellaart, not yet available when these remarks were written, the dominant cultural element in Middle and Late Bronze Troy was already Hellenic. The archaeological evidence, illustrated especially by Minyan and Mycenaean ware at Troy, is confirmed by the decipherment of Linear B, which proves that most Trojan names in Homer were contemporary Hellenic and not later inventions.

Similarly, the author is very rash in stating "that the synagogue frescoes at Dura" show that "in the third century A.D. . . . Dura had not yet reached the stage [of Hellenization] which had been passed at Alexandria in the second century B.C." What little we have from Dura in the last three centuries B.C. is thoroughly Hellenistic, and the frescoes of the Roman occupation in the first century A.D. are much more Hellenistic than the synagogue frescoes. The latter are throughout Sassanian in character, illustrating the triumphant resurgence of Iran in the first half of the third century A.D. In the same way, though on a much cruder level, the third-century sculpture of Hatra and Tannur (in Jordan, excavated by Nelson Glueck) does not illustrate the belated triumph of Greek culture but rather the revulsion against it. This fact is not altered by full recognition of Hellenistic influence underlying pagan Syrian and Sassanian art.

In spite of the author's first-hand knowledge of both Greek and Hebrew cultures, his treatment is biased by many obiter dicta from a completely antiquated period of Biblical research. The publication of the Canaanite epics from the first half of the second millennium B.C., preserved on dated tablets from the fourteenth

century B.C., has forced a general reappraisal of the history of the early Hebrew language and poetic literature, much of which is far earlier than once supposed. The Dead Sea Scrolls have demonstrated that some of the "foundations" of the chronology of Biblical literature once accepted were quite unfounded themselves and that the hagiographic books are much earlier than believed by most scholars until very recently. And rapidly increasing discoveries of texts in our own ancestral alphabet, extending from the sixteenth century B.C. to the fifth, have revolutionized our approach to the history of classical Hebrew vocabulary, orthography, and syntax. The mechanical treatment of JEDP is no longer tenable, and the author's date for separate existence of J and E (to about 400 B.C.) is much too low. The Chronicler's work is not a Hellenistic compilation without historical value. It is Persian in date and invaluable, not least when he drew on oral sources otherwise lost. Proverbs does indeed depend partly on the Egyptian maxims of Amenemope, but the latter were composed about the thirteenth to the twelfth centuries B.C., not the eighth; we have part of the text on a still unpublished ostrakon of the tenth century B.C., and language, Semitic loanwords, and personal names point to the Ramesside period. It is impossible to date Job in the third century B.C. since much of the language is relatively archaic, and there are no quotations from the Hebrew Bible; a date in the seventh century is becoming increasingly probable. Ecclesiastes shows points of contact with Greek culture, but the rapidly swelling evidence for a fourth-century date and Phoenician provenience suggests a common Northeast Mediterranean background (on which I hope soon to write). Neither in this book nor in the Song of Songs is there a single Greek word, though there are several Iranian terms (*appiryon* among them, as shown very recently by Geo Widengren).

Nor can the Essenes of Qumran be connected with the Pythagoreans (in spite of obvious pseudomorphosis) since their own canonical literature dates largely from the second century B.C. and again contains no Greek words, but many Iranian.

Johns Hopkins University

WILLIAM F. ALBRIGHT

LA PRÉFECTURE URBAINE À ROME SOUS LE BAS-EMPIRE. By *André Chastagnol*. [Publications de la faculté des lettres et sciences humaines d'Alger, Number 34.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1960. Pp. xix, 523. 25 new fr.)

THE urban prefecture at Rome lasted more than five centuries, from the time of Augustus to that of Justinian. It was one of the few offices that retained most of its power and prestige after the revolutionary changes of the era of Diocletian and Constantine. Indeed, it seemed to gain in importance, and the urban prefect emerged as one of the great ministers of state under the late Empire. The history of the prefecture falls into two periods: that of the early Empire, the first three

hundred years of its existence; and that of its further development under the late Empire. During the later period, it underwent a number of changes, most of them augmenting its dignity and authority, arising from the fact that the urban prefect was now the absent emperor's chief vicar in Rome and the liaison officer between him and the senatorial aristocracy.

The prefecture of the early Empire has been the subject of a recent study by Giovanni Vitucci (1956). That of the late Empire, while various aspects of it have been handled in articles and monographs, has not been accorded full and general treatment in a book since Vigneaux, *Essai sur l'histoire de la praefectura urbis à Rome* (1896). Chastagnol proposes to cover the later history of the prefecture, specifically the period of 290–423. The first date is that at which Diocletian, abandoning Rome as his capital, reorganized the administration of Rome and Italy. The second is that of the death of Honorius, which is approximately the same as the time of the urban prefecture described in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. His aim is to show how the third-century prefecture developed into that of the *Notitia*.

His treatment of the subject is meticulous and detailed. After a preliminary survey of the sources, the book is divided into three sections. Part I, "L'évolution des attributions," concerns the growth of the functions of the prefecture, administrative, political, judicial, and religious. Part II, "Les services préfectoraux," discusses the titles and insignia of the prefect, his relations with other officials, his *officium*, and his duties as police and fire chief, chief minister of the food supply, finance and public works, and supreme judge of the city. Part III, "Les préfets," is a brief study of the careers of the holders of the office. There is also a list of the urban prefects and their chief subordinates, such as the prefects of the *annona* and the prefects of the watch. Finally, there are two things that have too often been omitted in works of this kind: a complete and thorough index and a full, if unavoidably selective, bibliography.

University of Louisville

LAURENCE LEE HOWE

KULTURGESCHICHTE VON BYZANZ. By *Hans-Wilhelm Haussig*. [Kröners Taschenausgabe, Number 211.] (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag. 1959. Pp. xvi, 624, 8. DM 15.)

THIS volume is in many ways a refreshing attempt to present a new synthesis of the Byzantine accomplishment. Haussig's book follows the tradition already established in this series by such notable works as Burckhardt's *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* and *Griechische Kulturgeschichte*. The work, divided into five major parts, deals with the cycle of the rise and decline of Byzantine *Kultur*. In Part I, the period of incubation, Haussig describes the traditional symptoms and phenomena of decline in late antiquity. The second part, the period of birth, is especially interesting as it places a new emphasis on the permeation of society by the monastic movement. Part III discusses the rise of Byzantine *Kultur* and the

attainment of its full bloom, whereas Parts IV and V describe its senescence. Among the factors that make this a novel and intriguing effort at synthesis is Haussig's continuous interpretation of the art, literature, theology, and economic, social, political, and religious institutions of each of the five periods as manifestations of the times and as reflections of society. While interpreting them he also relates and compares these various phenomena and manifestations of Byzantine society with their counterparts in the world of medieval Islam and of the medieval West. Illustrative of his technique is the discussion of the "feudalizing" process in Byzantium as an important factor in decline. Ostensibly he is concerned with the "feudalization" of the Byzantine Empire and its significance. In effect he relates Byzantine "feudalism" to similar phenomena in the Medieval West and Orient. "One cannot say that the decline of the Byzantine Empire was a unique phenomenon within the framework of the European and Islamic political world. In the Orient as in the West, the development took the same path." Thus in the first half of the ninth century the Abbasid caliphate collapsed as the peripheral areas broke away and became separate states. The Carolingian Empire was the last attempt at a universal state, and it was already in the grip of feudalism. Then Haussig presents one of his interesting comparisons between Byzantium and the West by saying that in effect the "feudalization" process in these areas was quite parallel. "The bearers of this development [feudalization] in Byzantium were the magnates of Asia Minor, the families of Phokas, Maleinos, Skleros, and Kurkuas, in Germany the families of Wettin, Welf, Babenberg, and Zähring." In both states, Haussig continues, it was the commanders of military provinces, in Byzantium the strategoi of the themes, in Germany the graves and margraves, who played the crucial role.

Such comparisons are illuminating and interesting for they put the whole problem of Byzantine "feudalism" into broader perspective. Byzantinists have too long dealt with the various phenomena of Byzantine history as if they occurred in a complete vacuum or as if they were unique. Haussig has attempted to correct this error by placing these phenomena in their correct position in the spectrum of medieval history (at least in the medieval history of Europe and the Islamic East). Such attempts, however, present all the difficulties of oversimplification and generalization, and Haussig's comparison of Byzantine and German "feudalization" is oversimplified. In establishing the similarities he has not noticed the vast dissimilarities of "feudalization" in the two spheres. He also carries the comparison too far, as for instance in the following example. According to Haussig the carving up of the large eastern provincial themes (Armeniakon and Anatolikoi) was a "feudal" phenomenon comparable to the slicing up of the Bavarian principality by Otto II in 976. The implication here is that the eastern themes in the Byzantine Empire were carved into smaller entities as a result of pressure from the landed magnates, such as Phokas, who wished to see more provincial posts created for themselves. In effect we know that the central government divided these large

provinces into smaller ones precisely so that ambitious generals, such as Phokas, would not have too much power. Thus the parceling of provinces was a manifestation of the assertion of central authority not of disruptive "feudalization" in the provinces. In short, the terms "feudalism" and "feudalization" have been used to designate many things.

In spite of other possible criticisms, the work is of great interest and one that might profitably be translated into English.

University of California, Los Angeles

SFEROS VRYONIS, JR.

LAND TENURE IN EARLY ENGLAND: A DISCUSSION OF SOME PROBLEMS. By *Eric John*. [Studies in Early English History, Number 1.] ([Leicester:] Leicester University Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 184. 30s.)

THE author calls this book disputatious. A reconsideration of the views of earlier scholars may be desirable, but should be based on a careful presentation of all the evidence. The material is full and varied, demanding for its proper handling several sorts of skill which can be acquired only by long and patient study. Some misunderstanding would be excusable. Yet, though Mr. John claims that his evidence is "fully, accurately and impartially stated," he misrepresents his sources so frequently that one cannot accept the dogmatic statements scattered throughout the book. It matters less that the tone of the references to older scholars is often offensive, for this is obvious, than that his errors of fact and judgment may be missed by persons not intimately familiar with the sources.

He has perhaps rendered a service in calling attention to Levy's *West Roman Vulgar Law*, but he too readily assumes that its conclusions apply to Anglo-Saxon land tenure, claiming a likelihood "that more than formulas were borrowed from Italy, and that the law of the charters as well as their shape comes ultimately from Rome." As this assumption causes him to see imaginary difficulties in the views of others, one must point out the fallacies in his reasoning. An argument based on the occurrence of certain words both in Anglo-Saxon charters and in codes of the Vulgar Law would be convincing only if it were shown that these words were not in ordinary use elsewhere. This is never considered. Great weight is attached to the use in two charters and in one passage in Bede of the word *facultas*, which he calls "a shorthand word for the right to dispose of land freely." *Facultas* is used in England in its two main senses, "power" and "goods." In the two charters it has the first meaning, replacing the more common *potestas*; there is no awkwardness in rendering "goods" in the passage in Bede. Bede's familiarity with the Vulgate would alone explain his usage here and in other contexts. Even if we were to accept Mr. John's interpretation of this passage, it would not follow that the liberation of slaves on the estate proved manumission to be an innovation of bookright. This sweeping claim is unaccompanied by a full survey of the evidence for manumission, for Mr. John seems to imagine that, if he can show that wills which

mention manumission relate to bookland, he has proved that owners of other land were debarred from this act—an argument *e silentio*. To use this alleged limitation of manumission to prove the influence of the Vulgar Law would be to argue in a circle.

Misrepresentation of evidence underlies other claims. The contention that no land was held permanently before the introduction of bookland, and that the family had no rights in other land, involves the assumption that pronouns such as “anyone” in anathemas refer solely to the king’s successors, as well as the rejection of the natural interpretation of BCS 241. He has misunderstood BCS 332, where Offa took objection to King Ecgberht’s grant to Aldhun, not to Aldhun’s grant to Canterbury; hence the reversion of the land to Offa is no argument against family rights in land. He attempts to upset the established interpretation of the important Wassingwell charter, but ignores the crucial clause which frees Wassingwell *ab omni servitute regali operis . . . sicut ante fuerat illa prenominata terra et Mersaham*. He has overlooked an important clause in BCS 156 (page 47) and also (page 16) Ealdorman Alfred’s prayer for “a nearer male heir.” A serious error is his inclusion among the estates that made up the hundred of Oswaldslow of what he calls a grant of Bredon by Offa to Worcester, when it is a grant of land at three places not in Oswaldslow to the monastery at Bredon.

Not only charters are misrepresented. If space allowed, one could demonstrate errors in the use of Bede, the laws, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. For example, Bede does not say that false monasteries were founded by “the king’s thegns and their hangers-on”; Ine 53.1 and Alfred 2 have been misunderstood; and Wulfstan did not compose the first part of annal 975 D, E.

Mr. John has put much work into this book, and it is a pity that he has rushed into print. Had he weighed his sources carefully and dispassionately, his industry might have resulted in some acceptable contribution. As it is, anyone wishing to use his theories would be wise to go over the ground afresh. No service is rendered to scholarship by an unconsidered attack on the well-founded conclusions of sound scholars.

Cambridge University

DOROTHY WHITELOCK

MARCO POLO’S ASIA: AN INTRODUCTION TO HIS “DESCRIPTION OF THE WORLD” CALLED “IL MILIONE.” By *Leonardo Olschki*. Translated by *John A. Scott*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 459. \$10.00.)

THE distinguished author of this volume has contributed numerous other books and articles on various aspects of the present volume. Only someone who has occupied himself with related matters over several decades could have assimilated and given the information this book does. It is mainly a translation of two lecture

series given in Venice and Rome on the occasion of the seventh centenary of Marco Polo's birth.

Professor Olschki modestly states that his book is to serve as an introduction to Marco Polo's *Description of the World* called *Il Milione*, and he repeatedly emphasizes the descriptive aspect of that classic. It is "to contribute toward a closer and withal an ampler understanding of Marco Polo's book," "to compile a new and up-to-date commentary . . . [on] the various subjects treated by Marco," "to encourage a resumption of Oriental studies in the vast field offered by the medieval Asia explored by the Venetian." Consequently Olschki does not treat exhaustively all the subjects described by Polo nor all the items specifically taken up by himself.

After discussing some questions on the texts of *Il Milione* and on Marco Polo's itineraries, Olschki deals with Polo's western predecessors, Friar Julian, Friar John of Pian del Càrpine, Friar William of Rubruck, and an Oriental official, Chau Ju-kua. He also devotes an excellent chapter to Polo and his ghost writer, Rustichello of Pisa, and the composition of their classic, giving a truly exciting description of the general Asiatic civilization, and another, somewhat less successful, on the aspects of nature. Since Marco wrote extensively on religion and politics, Olschki also does so. In Chapter ix Olschki gives three sketches on the Old Man of the Mountain, Prester John, and Kublai Khan. The volume ends with a commentary on the medical references of Marco Polo.

From these chapters Polo emerges, not as a merchant or missionary, adventurer or analyst, but rather as a traveler and official, observant rather than imaginative, with catholic interests, but without literary pretensions, tolerant of religions different from his own, but strongly biased in favor of the Chinghizide dynasty and Kublai Khan, whom he served for two decades. He did not write for scholars or religious zealots, but for "all those interested in learning about various conditions of men." The author hopes that his book will prompt scholars to give more attention to Polo's unscholarly, but highly informative, book.

Although the author has given no bibliography, his footnotes are replete with bibliographical data and suggestions "to encourage a resumption of Oriental studies." Many of the proposals for study will require the dedication and persistence exhibited by Olschki. The volume contains a map of Polo's travels and separate indexes on people and places, names, subjects, foreign terms, and authors.

University of Cincinnati

HILMAR C. KRUEGER

Modern Europe

TOLERATION AND THE REFORMATION. In two volumes. By *Joseph Lecler, S.J.* Translated by *T. L. Westow*. (New York: Association Press. 1960. Pp. xv, 432; ix, 544. \$25.00 the set.)

FATHER Lecler has given us the most comprehensive and succinct history of religious toleration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries thus far available.

The Association Press is to be congratulated for launching this felicitous translation. Only one thoroughly acquainted with both languages could have hit on such a happy phrase as "tortuous syllogisms." The tone of this work, written by a Jesuit, is evidence that, in history at any rate, the period of confessional intolerance is past. One scarcely feels that the bounds of objectivity have been passed over when reminded that the pope's rejoicing over the Massacre of St. Bartholomew "which shames and shocks us . . . can only be explained by this crusading atmosphere in which Catholic and Protestant forces sought each other's destruction." At the end of the book Lecler examines from the Catholic standpoint the various arguments adduced in favor of liberty during these centuries of struggle. He rejects many a specious one and endorses for himself the law of charity.

The scope of the work is determined by the rise of religious pluralism. Since Protestantism had no hold in Spain and Italy and since Catholicism completely succumbed in the Scandinavian lands, these are excluded from the discussion. The reason for the chronological limits is less easy to justify. In France he stops with the Edict of Nantes, save for a glance at what followed, but in England he continues through the first two Stuarts until 1640. Why stop there? The Cromwellian period was more exciting. But a better parallel to France would be the end of the reign of Elizabeth.

Dependence on the work of others is everywhere evident and to be commended; this work gathers up the results and fills in the lacunae. For England W. K. Jordan's *The Development of Religious Toleration in England* is basic. For the typology of ideas on tolerance much has been taken from Johannes Kühn, *Toleranz und Offenbarung*. Every work of importance has been utilized down to the appearance of the French edition in 1955. Two works have appeared since that time which should be noted: Franklin Littell, *Landgraf Philip und die Toleranz* (1957), and Hermann Doerries, *Constantine and Religious Liberty* (1960).

Lecler very properly begins with a survey of persecution and liberty starting with the Old Testament where the offense was apostasy and the penalty death. In the New Testament the offense was heresy and the penalty avoidance. Down to Constantine, the Church pleaded for its own freedom. When the Church came to enjoy imperial favor, the sword of the ruler was injected into religious controversies in order to preserve the unity of the Church and the peace of the land. A theoretical justification of coercion in religion was given by Augustine, who stopped short of the death penalty, however. After the barbarian invasions in the west, heresy and schism slumbered until the eleventh century. From then on sects and heresies multiplied. A crusade was used in the case of the Albigenses, and an inquisition was instituted to eradicate the remnants. As the reason for this recourse to constraint, the author stresses mainly the concept of Christendom as an integral Christian society. The treatment of the reasons for persecution might have been amplified, but this is only the introductory chapter.

Bromley and Kossmann: Britain and the Netherlands 1013

Lecler points out with genuine acumen that during the Renaissance the humanists desired to maintain the unity of Christendom. In order to do so they were ready to grant latitude to heresy but not to schism. Only a minimum would be required by way of belief, but secession would not be tolerated. In general this was the position of Cusa, Ficino, Pico, Erasmus, and More.

The contribution of the mystics during the late Middle Ages is passed over, but this does not greatly matter because the mystics of the Reformation receive their due.

With regard to Luther, Lecler separates an earlier tolerant from a later intolerant Luther. When a rebel against the Church of Rome, he demanded freedom; when the builder of a church, he denied it to the Protestant sectaries. There is a measure of truth in this portrayal. Luther did feel that the magistrate must not impede, but might help the word of God. Yet, throughout, Luther refused to punish heresy in the sense of false belief. The offenses of the sectaries that he did punish were blasphemy and sedition. There was a shift from penalization for a belief to penalization for a specific act resulting from the belief. Note that he charged the peaceful Anabaptists with sedition because their refusal to use the sword or to support the sword in the hand of the magistrate would disintegrate the state. After Luther, an account is given of Protestant mystics and spiritualists for whom religion was too interior to be coerced and the mystical experience too spiritual to form a visible church. Here belong Franck, Schwenckfeld, and Joris among others.

The treatment of the Anabaptists is not altogether satisfactory because new source material and discussions are coming out continuously, and no book can be abreast. But the essentials are clear, and the complexity of the movement rightly sensed. Treatment of Calvin and the Servetus episode is eminently fair. It includes accounts of the protests of Castello, Acontius, Minus Celsus, and others.

The discussion continues in detail for France, Holland, and England. Great movements are covered in all their sweep, and political factors receive their due. There are excellent analyses of the thought of such men as L'Hôpital, Montaigne, and Bodin in France, Coornhert, Arminius, and Grotius in Holland, and Hooker, Laud, Chillingworth, Goodwin, and Roger Williams in England. The inclusion of some less-known Catholic writers such as Martin Becanus is highly instructive. There are an admirable bibliography and indexes for topics and persons.

Yale University

ROLAND H. BAINTON

BRITAIN AND THE NETHERLANDS: PAPERS DELIVERED TO THE OXFORD-NETHERLANDS HISTORICAL CONFERENCE, 1959. Edited by *J. S. Bromley* and *E. H. Kossmann*. Introduction by *Pieter Geyl*. (New York: Humanities Press. 1960. Pp. 255. \$5.00.)

WITH the exception of the one done by Rosalie Colie, the American contribu-

tor, these thirteen essays were delivered at a conference of Anglo-Dutch historians held at St. Anthony's College, Oxford, January 12-16, 1959. Most of them illustrate the political, economic, and cultural influence that England and the Netherlands have had upon each other throughout their histories. To most American and English readers, the works by the Dutch historians will be most rewarding, for the language barrier has far too often led to ignorance of them. The quality of the English contributions varies, while that of Miss Colie is first class.

The authors cover a wide range, and it is perhaps too bad that the conference did not limit its subject matter. J. W. Smit treats "The Present Position of Studies Regarding the Revolt of the Netherlands" highly informatively. With the careful and precise scholarship for which he is known, Smit provides a valuable summary of Dutch historiography on the Eighty Years' War. This essay, along with that of B. W. Schaper, "Religious Groups and Political Parties in Contemporary Holland," gives a real insight into the correlation of politics, religion, and scholarship in the Netherlands of the twentieth century.

Other contributions are: R. B. Wernham, "English Policy and the Revolt of the Netherlands"; W. J. van Hoboken, "The Dutch West India Company: The Political Background of Its Rise and Decline"; J. P. Cooper, "Differences between English and Continental Governments in the Early Seventeenth Century"; E. H. Kossmann, "The Development of Dutch Political Theory in the Seventeenth Century"; Rosalie L. Colie, "John Locke in the Republic of Letters"; B. H. Slicher van Bath, "The Rise of Intensive Husbandry in the Low Countries"; H. J. Habakkuk, "The English Land Market in the Eighteenth Century"; M. G. Brock, "The Reform Act of 1832"; J. C. Broogman, "The Dutch Crisis in the Eighteen-Forties"; David Butler, "The Study of British Elections"; and A. E. Cohen, "Netherlands Research on the Second World War."

Slicher van Bath proves that the agricultural revolution in the Low Countries predated the one in Britain and points to the lack of a major work on the influence of Low Country agriculture on subsequent British development. Habakkuk describes how changing credit policies made it more difficult to acquire land in eighteenth-century England. Kossmann provides insights into the growth of Dutch political theory, and Miss Colie shows how some of that political theory among other things rubbed off on John Locke. Butler traces some of the work accomplished by the Nuffield College series in psephology; A. E. Cohen does the same for war history by the Riksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie.

All of the essays can be read with profit. It is hoped that similar conferences will be held if the results of this one are a sample.

Coe College

JOHN J. MURRAY

POLITICAL MESSIANISM: THE ROMANTIC PHASE. By J. L. Talmon.
(New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1960. Pp. xiii, 15-607. \$8.75.)

THIS volume deals with political messianism in Western Europe during the first half of the nineteenth century. According to the author, his book "is not a history of ideas. Its subject is a climate of ideas, a frame of mind, we may say faith." It describes the secret conspiratorial societies, the political parties, and the schools of thought that created the climate of ideas that the author calls "political messianism." He defines this phenomenon as a "vision of the oneness of History and of universal concord at the end of days." It originated in France, where the Revolution had engendered the belief "in some preordained natural rational and just social system, which only the selfishness of vested interests prevented from coming into being." Talmon is convinced that the great conflict that raged during the period was not between dynastic absolutism and liberalism, the traditional view, but between political messianism and liberalism. Unlike the latter, which aimed to eliminate specific evils, the former sought a final solution of all the problems of society.

Highly interesting is Talmon's analysis of the various manifestations of political messianism, socialist, democratic, and nationalist, each with its own brand of universal regeneration. To the messianic socialist, Fourier, the St.-Simonians, and the young Marx, man would achieve regeneration only when property, the sum of all social evils, was abolished. To the messianic democrats, Lamennais and Lamartine, the concept of "the people" signified "a homogeneous personality, an ideological sacrosanct entity" whose infallible "general will" would achieve salvation. To the messianic nationalists, Mazzini and Michelet, the ideology of nationalism, rooted in a highly elaborate concept of universal history, destined the nation to serve as the "vessel of redemption." All the prophets of political messianism, observes Talmon, were prompted primarily by their urge to solve the problem of man versus nature, a problem posed by Rousseau.

While specifically exempting Britain, the author assumes that political messianism pervaded all of Western Europe. This assumption is valid for France, but not for the other countries. In his treatment of the revolutionary movements outside of France, he cites little evidence of the influence of the new cult. Talmon does not always avoid the pitfall of seeing universality where there is only intensity.

As the opposition to political messianism, liberalism, formulated by Constant, Tocqueville, Guizot, and Humboldt, was characterized by "its freedom from both the burden of sin on the one hand, and the craving for salvation on the other." The liberal thinkers feared, and in the author's judgment quite rightly, that political messianism sought to supersede all regimes by a totalitarian dictatorship, with supreme power in the hands of a single individual, a "seer-prophet-Messiah." Talmon describes in great detail and with much fervor the conflicts in Western Europe that culminated in the Revolution of 1848. He pays special attention to the uprising in France, where political messianism, in all its aspects, rose to the surface. There and then it suffered a disastrous defeat, inflicted not by the

liberals, but by new and unexpected enemies, represented by Louis Napoleon, who were "part, and to a large extent a perverted and morbid manifestation, of the political messianism of the age." Defeated in the West, its original ideology "wandered eastwards" and later "won dominance over vast continents"—Russia and China.

Talmon reveals a thorough knowledge of the history of the period and a subtly sensitive understanding of the role of the utopian thinkers, the "Messiahs," who generated its climate of ideas. Those interested in the intellectual origins of the revolutionary movements of our day will do well to read his book.

New York, New York

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO

PARTY POLITICS. Volume II, THE GROWTH OF PARTIES. By *Sir Ivor Jennings*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1961. Pp. vii, 403. \$8.50.)

SIR Ivor Jennings, distinguished commentator on contemporary British political institutions, has now turned his attention to British political parties, the field so brilliantly explored by R. T. McKenzie. With this study Sir Ivor plans to complete his "survey of the British Constitution begun in 1936 with *Cabinet Government* and continued in 1938 with *Parliament*." His decision to treat the subject historically as well as analytically has caused *Party Politics* to grow into three volumes. Volume I, published in 1960 with the subtitle *Appeal to the People*, is an analysis of the changing techniques of party politics brought about mainly through changes in electoral laws since 1832 that affected the constituencies, the body of electors, and the machinery of party appeals to the electorate. Volume III, subtitled *The Stuff of Politics*, not yet published, is to deal with the leading political ideas "carried on from generation to generation in layers melting into a more or less consistent philosophy of politics which can be called Whiggism, Toryism, Conservatism, Liberalism or Socialism as interpreted for the time being."

The second volume has the subtitle *The Growth of Parties*. It represents an attempt at historical analysis of the development of political parties apart from the question of techniques or of theory. Beginning with the Royalist and Parliament men in the Long Parliament, Sir Ivor traces their metamorphoses in Court and Country, Whig and Tory, Liberal and Conservative, and ends with a section styled "Decline of the Labour Party?" based on an analysis of the election returns of 1959. He states that a party must be regarded "not as a standard-bearer of an ideology but as a set of more or less ambitious politicians whose loyalties are to an institution. It is an entity whose character is determined from time to time by the men and women who compose it, and especially the men and women who lead it. . . ." He is therefore much concerned with the politicians, and to a lesser extent with the class structure of politics.

For the period down to the end of the eighteenth century, he depends for his sources on the best secondary books in the field, especially the work of Sir Lewis

Namier and those whose studies he influenced. For the past century and a half, more use is made of biographies and memoirs, and Sir Ivor draws on his own vast store of accumulated knowledge as well as on modern studies of particular parties and election returns.

The major weakness of this volume can be ascribed to his organization of the material. By divorcing the chronological narrative from the reform movements and from changes in the electoral laws, on the one hand, and from political theory, on the other, he tends to turn the story of party growth into a description of changes brought about by personality, a two-dimensional picture without depth and lacking the complexity that a historian expects. It is, as Sir Ivor acknowledges in the introduction to Volume I, the approach of the lawyer concerned with ascertaining a problem and finding a possible legal solution. Thus he can write about the problem of Ireland: "To the modern constitutional lawyer . . . Home Rule seems to be a comparatively simple problem . . . it is easier now . . . to say that three or four lawyers could have produced a reasonable compromise in a week and a perfect draft in a month."

Cynical about politics and "party political," he makes comments, sometimes astute, on the politicians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In his portrait gallery some, like Joseph Chamberlain, emerge very well. His *bête noire* is Gladstone, whom he rarely mentions without a denigratory or critical implication.

His attempts to draw conclusions from election results are marred by his frequent change of venue from the number of seats won to the figures of the popular vote, which he presents sometimes as a percentage of the votes cast, sometimes as a percentage of the electorate. His tables, which do not make clear the effect of uncontested constituencies or the varying results produced by three-cornered contests, are more tantalizing than helpful. His own quirks of thought lead him frequently to drop remarks, such as that about "Attlee, who had become Leader of the Opposition in 1935 only because, being member for Limehouse, he could not be turned out in 1931," which are neither self-evident nor supported by any evidence he presents.

Brooklyn College

MADELINE R. ROBINTON

LOCKE'S THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE AND ITS HISTORICAL RELATIONS. By *James Gibson*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 338. \$5.00.)

LOCKE ON WAR AND PEACE. By *Richard H. Cox*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xx, 220. \$5.60.)

AN IMMORTAL COMMONWEALTH: THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF JAMES HARRINGTON. By *Charles Blitzer*. [Yale Studies in Political Science, Number 2.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1960. Pp. xv, 344. \$6.00.)

STUDENTS of the history of ideas will be delighted that James Gibson's study, *Locke's Theory of Knowledge*, first published in 1917 and long out of print, is now again available in its original form. This is a valuable work, and those not already familiar with it will do well to read it carefully. The book is in two parts: the first describing the doctrine of the *Essay*, the second, the historical context of its thought. The contents admirably indicate the material dealt with in each of thirteen chapters, and an index affords further assistance to full use of the text. Much has recently been written about Locke. The discovery of a great part of his library and the deposit of the Lovelace manuscripts in the Bodleian Library have stimulated projects for a new edition of the *Works*, for an excellent biography, and for several monographs on Locke's political and philosophical thought. The process of addition, amendment, and modification of earlier interpretations may be said in some ways to have commenced with Gibson's penetrating analysis of the *Essay*. This, he maintained, sought only incidentally to provide an account of the genesis of our ideas and chiefly endeavored to solve the problem of the nature and possible extent of human knowledge. Knowledge and certainty were identical. Locke wished to serve mankind and to illuminate morality and divinity by discovering the character of knowledge and the area of human rational activity in which requirements for its attainment might be satisfied. Even in those discussions in Part II of this volume where Gibson traced the sources of Locke's theories (Descartes, the English scientists, and Platonists) and in chapters on the connection with Leibniz and the relation to Kant, the argument is lively and, though perhaps more in need of some revision than in Part I, anticipatory of much modern commentary and research.

Locke on War and Peace is a fresh exploration of his conception of the state of nature which "is in fact fundamentally Hobbesian in character" and seeks to show that "his political philosophy is based on a primacy of foreign over domestic policy" and that his mercantilism is only a part of a doctrine attaching "overriding importance to the right of self-preservation." Cox examines what he feels to be the indirection of Locke's statements prompted by natural timidity, caution, and fear of persecution. Thus he attempted to dissociate himself from the unpopular theory that identified a state of nature with a state of war and yet based much of his own political philosophy upon the same concept. Locke's approach to the Christian tradition of his day, to the origins of power and to the natural state of man, and his concept of sovereignty with respect to internal matters, but especially in relation to the primacy of foreign policy and the position of nations with respect to each other, are examined with careful attention to text and to new material in the Lovelace manuscripts. Not everyone will accept Cox's elaborate though clearly stated argument, but all students of Locke's politics will do well to study his thesis and enforce or amend their ideas accordingly.

An Immortal Commonwealth is a detailed description of Harrington's *Oceana*, and the constitution of that utopia is much more simply presented than in the

original account. A useful appendix on expenditures connected with the Senate and the Prerogative Tribes affords further clarification. Blitzer has relied on Ian Grimble's *Harrington Family* (1957) for biographical data and on Russell Smith's *Harrington and His Oceana* (1914) for a summary of the political influence of the writer. The style is crisp and the précis sensible except where (as in the introductory paragraphs of Chapter II) rather trite and even misleading generalizations are made about contemporary constitutional developments and problems. The author deals briefly with precursors and contemporary disciples of the theory of property and empire. Neville is lightly dismissed, and only the briefest space in "Ancient Prudence" (Chapter VI) is devoted to widespread interest in the connection of wealth and power. The book should prove a boon to those students for whom *Oceana* is unavailable or too difficult, but will contribute little to those curious about Harrington's place in his century or his continuing influence in the next.

Bryn Mawr College

CAROLINE ROBBINS

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ISAAC NEWTON. Volume II, 1676-1687.

Edited by H. W. Turnbull. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Royal Society of London. 1960. Pp. xii, 551. \$25.00.)

THE present volume in Professor Turnbull's noble edition contains 162 items. Some are memoranda rather than correspondence, and many are about Newton rather than directly by or to him. No fewer than sixty-five are thought never to have been published before. Pride of place must still be accorded to certain items which were already known: above all, the famous "Epistola Prior" of June 13, 1676, and "Epistola Posterior" of October 24, 1676, by which Newton communicated to his great rival Leibniz as much as he saw fit of the method and history of his discovery of the calculus; the exchanges with Robert Hooke, which led Hooke to claim that he had anticipated the substance of the *Principia*; and the correspondence with Edmond Halley illustrating the delicate process by which the latter extracted successive books of the *Principia* from their skittish author.

Of hitherto unpublished items, the most significant are three memoranda, tentatively dated by the editor from 1664, 1665, and 1676. The first of these appears to contain "the earliest statement and proof of the fundamental theorem of the calculus," the second is basic for the history of the binomial theorem, and the third appears to take up where Newton left off at an interesting point in the "Epistola Posterior." Though not of the same importance as the memoranda on the development of the calculus, two largely unpublished bodies of correspondence are of considerable interest: the increasingly acrimonious exchanges with the Jesuit Anthony Lucas about Newton's early experiments in optics and the many letters about the "great" comet of 1680 and, less significantly, that of 1682 (later known as "Halley's"). Newton's breaking of comets to the discipline of universal

gravitation was by no means the least spectacular of his achievements in the eyes of his contemporaries. In the present volume one can actually see him advancing cautiously from the old Keplerian view of comets as traveling in a straight line to John Flamsteed's position that they could be detected swinging about in curved paths. In this context, Americans will be particularly interested in six letters of the previously mysterious Arthur Storer, who is mentioned in the *Principia* as having sent valuable observations of the comet of 1680 from Maryland. It now emerges that the Storer family were less than ideal tenants of Newton at Woolsthorpe manor.

In human terms, the most interesting aspect of the book is the growing distaste for "Philosophy," meaning science, which Newton attributed to the many bitter controversies in which his publications involved him, as with Lucas and Hooke. "For I see," he wrote in 1676, "a man must either resolve to put out nothing new or to become a slave to defend it." In trying to fend off correspondence with Hooke, he wrote in 1679 of endeavoring for some years past "to bend my self from Philosophy to other studies." He "shook hands" with it as an object for which his affection was "worn out." When, notwithstanding these efforts to wean himself from his old love, he embarked upon the composition of the *Principia*, only to be told that he had got it all from Hooke, he let out a wonderful cry of rage at all the lesser men who snapped at his heels and made investigation a torment. "Should a man who thinks himself knowing, & loves to shew it in correcting & instructing others, come to you when you are busy, & notwithstanding your excuse, press discourses upon you & through his own mistakes correct you & multiply discourses & then make this use of it, to boast that he taught you all he spake & oblige you to acknowledge it & cry out injury & injustice if you do not. . . ." And yet such men did play a useful role in stinging Newton into perfecting his own labors.

There must be few if any volumes now issuing from the presses of the world that can compare in beauty and fitness with the present magnificent series, on which the Cambridge University Press is to be congratulated.

Harvard University

DONALD FLEMING

VICTORIAN ORIGINS OF THE BRITISH WELFARE STATE. By *David Roberts*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 73.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1960. Pp. xiii, 369. \$6.00.)

OLD textbooks described the early Victorian period as the high-water mark of laissez-faire individualism. Over the past couple of decades this view has been much qualified and has been replaced by a new appreciation of the considerable efforts of the government in this age to improve social conditions. David Roberts' useful monograph on the development of economic intervention and administrative

centralization carries this reappraisal further and makes possible a more accurate estimate of what happened.

His book breaks new ground in at least two respects: It attempts an account of the new centralized administration in its entirety and presents a comparative survey of all the government departments—Roberts counts sixteen—that were established between 1833 and 1854, after which the pace slackened. It discusses not merely the agitations that led to the passage of enabling legislation, which have received a certain amount of attention already, but also how the new administration worked out in practice: its powers and organization, the background and character of the government officials who executed the new policies, the problems they met and how they dealt with them.

The cumulative effect of this survey is impressive. Roberts holds that the English bureaucracy in 1854, in comparison to those of most continental countries, was proportionately smaller in numbers, but intervened much more actively and positively for the benefit of the underprivileged classes. The other side of the picture is that the administrative structure was ramshackle and weak, authority was divided between different departments, most agencies were understaffed in view of the magnitude of their assignments, the powers granted often proved inadequate, and many social evils were left untouched. The whole system had to be overhauled and streamlined by a series of consolidating acts in the 1870's. The deficiencies of the central administration reflected the fact that it was the result of improvisation rather than of systematic planning. Roberts' explanation for this is that there existed a clear contradiction between the intentions of Parliament and what under the pressure of circumstances it actually did. Parliament as a whole, far from desiring to set up an administrative state, was jealous of delegating powers, suspicious of intervention and control, and sensitive to popular hostility to centralization. Hence each reform was designed, not to implement a principle, but to meet a particular situation on its merits. Parliament in general took action only when the need for reform was indisputable and the inadequacies of existing local agencies were notorious.

The book contains interesting new material, from contemporary political controversy as well as from government records, and gives a connected and lucid account of a development which, in our present perspective, has assumed greatly increased importance.

State University of Iowa

WILLIAM O. AYDELOTTE

IN HARD TIMES: REFORMERS AMONG THE LATE VICTORIANS. By *Herman Ausubel*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 403. \$7.50.)

SOME books fail to come off because their authors rely too heavily on secondary materials and do not "get their hands dirty" with primary sources. This one fails

for just the opposite reason. In spite of its considerable scope, social crisis and reform in late Victorian England, it is based almost exclusively on manuscript sources. The extent of these sources and the industry that must have gone into their selection, perusal, and transcription is truly staggering.

But there are limits to human industry and to what can be achieved in attempting to write the social and cultural history of an entire generation purely on the basis of what must perforce remain a random sampling of inexhaustible sources. And since no human being may hope to master all the sources of a period like that of late Victorian England, anyone who attempts to write such a history must rely on the work of other historians who have successfully dealt with particular aspects of the period.

Here, however, we are given for the most part a mixture of numerous names, anecdotes, and quotations which show that this was a period marked by economic depression, social stress, and the coming of democracy. A new generation of reformers (the author tends to be a little hard on previous generations) tried to alleviate some of the strains.

Insufficient distinction is made between the kinds of reformers, the kinds of sources used, the kinds of conclusions reached. Reports of American consuls, letters and poems of Ouida, remarks by Carlyle, Ruskin, and Shaw are certainly legitimate grist for the cultural historian's mill, but they are only useful when in the finished product they fill the interstices of a structure that simply does not exist in this book. Here they are jumbled together and overflow their confines. There is no reason why Ausubel should agree with Mrs. Lynd, Rostow, Raymond Williams, or Hanham, or with the authors of the relevant articles in his own admirably edited *The Making of English History*. But in reading this book one is hardly aware that they have said important things about this period and that Ausubel knows these things, as he has shown in a previous volume, *The Late Victorians*.

All this would be pardonable if the author offered some major alternative analysis of this period, which is not the case here (and which Ausubel did not attempt to do) or if the book were a sparkling collection of contemporary source extracts, bound together by a graceful commentary, somewhat in the style of James Laver's *Victorian Vista* or of *The Long Week-End* by Graves and Hodge. Here the author's manner lets him down. Not only are there all too many sentences like: "Even Henry Adams, a critical historian not easily impressed, found the emergence of an industrial America especially staggering." Not only does the author's fondness for adjectives used in the manner of *Time Magazine* lead to descriptions such as "status-conscious George Gissing," "self-centered Ouida," "hedonistic Wilkie Collins." Time and again he misses opportunities to go beyond externals, to tell us what people like Ruskin, George, Manning, and Stead were really thinking and writing, and what distinguished one strand of reformist thought from the other.

It is pleasant to be able to end on a positive note. Beginning with Chapter xvii, when the subject matter is Ireland, both the tone and the method of the book suddenly change for the better. This and the following chapters are more tautly written, are filled with sane and balanced historical judgments, and are successful in handling the complex and difficult topic of interaction between English and Irish affairs during this period. If only the first three quarters of the book came up to this high standard.

University of Chicago

JOHN CLIVE

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND, 1870-1939. By *William Ashworth*. [An Economic History of England.] (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1960. Pp. vi, 438. \$6.50.)

THIS book, planned as the final volume chronologically in a new series of economic histories edited by T. S. Ashton, is written for advanced students who are primarily concerned with analysis, not description, of the fundamental economic changes during the seventy-year period when Britain lost her position as economic leader of the world. Professor Ashworth of the University of Bristol devotes the first part of his study to a careful examination of the characteristics of the British economy during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The topics he discusses include the environment of economic change, agriculture and other major industries, trade and finance, labor, and the economic influence of government. Part II deals with the British economy from 1914 to 1918 and the economic consequences of the First World War. The concluding section is devoted to a consideration of the opportunities and difficulties of the interwar world, the chief British economic activities during the period, economic organization, public policy and its effects, and the course and outcome of economic change.

In pursuing his investigation, Ashworth revises many of the interpretations of earlier students. The late Victorian generation, he demonstrates conclusively, met the problems of the "Great Depression" far more successfully than is usually thought. After 1900 the rate of income growth declined, and by 1914 there were signs that the late Victorian accommodation between the British and world economies was becoming outdated. The First World War, in addition to creating the obvious problems, tragically diverted attention from the fundamental cause of many contemporary difficulties. "By encouraging wrong diagnosis it led to many economic problems being mistakenly treated or left untreated too long. . . ." The result was the paradoxical situation, which existed throughout the interwar period, of chronic unemployment and misery for many Britons while a great majority of the nation enjoyed better living and working conditions than in the past.

Ashworth's book is a solid study, based on the standard monographs and published source materials. The writing is lucid, the organization satisfactory, the methodology sound, and the conclusions reasonable. The footnotes offer valuable

suggestions for further study and will compensate for the absence of a bibliography. The author, whose purpose was not to write a definitive general history but to eliminate gaps and imprecision in our knowledge, has succeeded admirably in his chosen task. His book represents a very significant contribution to recent British economic historiography and will be required reading for the serious student.

Rutgers University

SYDNEY H. ZEBEL

NORTHCLIFFE. By *Reginald Pound* and *Geoffrey Harmsworth*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1960. Pp. xvi, 933. \$10.00.)

THIS massive volume, with abundant illustrations and a comprehensive bibliography, offers a definitive study of the "Napoleon of Fleet Street," the most remarkable figure in British journalism during the first quarter of this century. The career of Alfred C. Harmsworth (later Lord Northcliffe) has already inspired many books, laudatory and otherwise, of which Max Pemberton's memoir (1922) and Tom Clarke's *Northcliffe Diary* (1931) are perhaps best known, while the latest volume of the *History of the Times* (1952) examined in detail his proprietorship of that newspaper, ended by his strange death in 1922. The present collaborators, Northcliffe's nephew and a veteran British journalist, feel that these and other works do not offer a completely authentic and fully documented portrait. In presenting this first authorized biography, they use to advantage the extensive family archives of the Northcliffe clan as well as considerable personal knowledge of the subject. Harmsworth was born in 1865, the first of a large, impecunious, and severely middle-class Victorian family. At seventeen he left school after a sketchy education to enter free-lance journalism, specializing in cycling topics. Six years later, inspired by the success of George Newnes's magazine *Tit-Bits*, which provided snippets of news and information for the great unscholarly public of the 1870 Education Act, he launched the fantastically successful *Answers to Correspondents*. From these beginnings he moved on to create the *Daily Mail* (1896), the *Daily Mirror* (1903), to organize the Amalgamated Press, and to acquire control of the *Times* (1908).

The new biography is particularly useful in giving details of Northcliffe's powerful intervention in the First World War over the question of shell shortages under Asquith and of his work as head of the British War Mission to the United States (1917), and as Director of Propaganda in Enemy Countries (1918). It supplements previous knowledge of his influence on the Versailles and Irish settlements and of his involved and varying relationship with Lloyd George and other leading politicians. In order to refute the story that Northcliffe died insane, the authors describe his final illness in tedious detail. They show frankly his idolatrous and unhealthy doting on his mother, his frequent lapses of judgment, and his total incapacity for sustained thought. They also reveal his flashes of genius, his tremendous energy, and his benevolence when at his best. Curiously,

the whole narrative is dotted with memoranda and letters simply inserted into the text, apparently to spare the reader scholarly footnotes. This mars a well-written book, essential to the study of British journalism.

University of South Carolina

GEORGE CURRY

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Military Series). Edited by *Sir James Butler*. THE WAR AT SEA, 1939-1945, Volume III, THE OFFENSIVE. Part 1, 1ST JUNE 1943-31ST MAY 1944. By *S. W. Roskill*. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1960. Pp. xv, 413. \$8.40 postpaid.)

WHITE ENSIGN: THE BRITISH NAVY AT WAR, 1939-1945. By *S. W. Roskill*. (Annapolis, Md.: United States Naval Institute. 1960. Pp. 480. \$4.50.)

The Offensive, Part One, is the penultimate volume of Britain's official history of *The War at Sea, 1939-1945*. Captain Roskill has continued the excellent treatment and research that have marked his earlier volumes, as indeed they have the entire *History of the Second World War*. He assures us of the depth of his research in British, American, and enemy records, but unfortunately refrains, as do all British official historians, from a citation of his sources. While personally aware of the depth of that research, I regret the failure to provide citations to guide future scholars.

White Ensign is the logical culmination of Roskill's work. It is a summary of the official work whose unofficial status allows the author greater freedom in style and discussion. The result is by far the best single-volume history yet to appear of any navy during World War II, and it should serve as a guide for those to follow.

The Royal Navy suffered from curtailed appropriations in the years between the wars and, like its sister navy on this side of the Atlantic, entered World War II "immensely stronger in the quality of its men than . . . [in] modern ships to fight with." Particularly acute was the shortage of fast, long-range escorts necessary to protect the transatlantic convoys carrying the lifeblood of the British Isles.

Overemphasizing the value of the highly successful "Asdic" listening device and the political limitations on the German resort to unrestricted submarine warfare, the Admiralty began the war more concerned over the threat of surface raiders. Luckily, the Germans were even less prepared for unrestricted submarine warfare than the British. A year of grace gave the British time to build up their antisubmarine forces so that they were able to weather, narrowly and with American help, the great German submarine campaigns of 1941-1942.

Basically *White Ensign* is the story of the desperate struggle with and ultimate victory over the U-boat. Nearly half the book is devoted to that most important side of the war at sea for to Britain the maintenance of the life line pumping arms, men, material, and supplies into the home islands was the critical campaign. This

is not to suggest that Roskill has neglected the war in distant seas, such as the dangerous and frustrating campaign in Norway and along the North Russian convoy lanes; the struggle for dominance in the Mediterranean against the *Regia Marina* and *Luftwaffe* which produced some of the finest pages in British naval history; the harrowing, uneven fight against the Japanese juggernaut; or the great Anglo-American amphibious operations that freed first Africa and then Europe from Nazi clutches. Roskill also describes the less well-known British contributions to the war against Japan in the Indian Ocean, the Solomons, and off Okinawa and Japan.

The Offensive, Part One, describes the period from June 1, 1943, to May 31, 1944, in great detail. It was a year that saw victory assured in the Battle of the Atlantic, the Anglo-American conquest of Sicily followed by the return to the Continent at Taranto and Salerno and the bloody fighting at Anzio, and the less well-known British operations in the Aegean and Indian Ocean. These are all treated in detail, and Roskill gives generous space to the concurrent American activities in the Pacific. Special mention should be made of the new, completely revised list of Japanese submarine losses in Appendix D of the official work.

Falls Church, Virginia

K. JACK BAUER

THE CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

By K. C. Wheare. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 201. \$4.00.)

WITH his *Statute of Westminster and Dominion Status* (1938), Mr. Wheare made himself a pre-eminent authority on the legal niceties within what used to be called the British Commonwealth of Nations. That book enjoyed five editions before evolution outran it. Rather than cobbling, he offers a short new treatise on an association now called "the Commonwealth." This term, says Wheare, "stands for the whole collection of communities, self-governing and non-self-governing. . . ." His book, however, takes no account of the latter, but sets down "that collection of rules, understandings and practices by which the position and mutual relations . . . of the Members of the Commonwealth, are regulated and described." The waters run so fast in the Commonwealth today that it is prudent to date a description, and this one is precisely dated at March 31, 1960. The preface lists a number of changes in 1960, and we must add the significant development of the withdrawal under fire of South Africa in 1961.

The Rector of Exeter College does not illuminate that secession. He acknowledges the right of secession, doubts the right of expulsion, and speculates that there might be two commonwealths, one consisting of the members, another of the expelled or seceder country, possibly with its supporters. The one constant is that a country must recognize the Queen as head (presumably of its commonwealth, not just of the Commonwealth). All this borders on the ridiculous, and Wheare sensi-

bly dismisses the subject from the province of his book by saying the questions become political rather than legal and constitutional. Borrowing from the late Hollywood phrasemaker, he says wittily that the Irish position is "exclude me in' in place of 'include me out.'" This, so far as advantages go, seems to be what Verwoerd hopes for.

Within rather narrow legal limits, we have here the masterly, detailed refinement we expect of the author. The mass of precise detail cannot be summarized; it can only be used for reference on such specific points as the applicability of acts of the Westminster Parliament, appeals to the Privy Council, membership, and nationality of persons.

A major constitutional departure in the new Commonwealth is discussed under the word "autochthony." For some countries complete autonomy granted by a statute of the Parliament at Westminster is not enough. Their constitutions must be clearly seen to have grown from their own soil. Thus in 1937 the Constitution of Eire was enacted by the people; that of India in 1950 by the Constituent Assembly claiming to be the people; that of Ghana in 1960 quite independently of London.

Where concludes with a discussion of cooperation (and its limits) among members and a chapter on the meaningless yet paradoxically important symbol of the Queen as head of the Commonwealth.

Duke University

W. B. HAMILTON

FRENCH FREE-THOUGHT FROM GASSENDI TO VOLTAIRE. By J. S. Spink. (London: University of London, Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1960. Pp. ix, 345. \$8.00.)

BETWEEN Lanson's article in the *Revue d'histoire littéraire* (1912) entitled "Questions diverses sur l'histoire de l'esprit philosophique en France avant 1750" and the present day, many studies have appeared concerned with the development of free thought from the Italian Renaissance to the *Encyclopédie*: Lachèvre's volumes on *Le Libertinage au xvii^e siècle*, my *Clandestine Organization and Diffusion of Philosophic Ideas in France from 1700 to 1750*, Busson's three excellent volumes on the sources and development of rationalism, Pintard's *Le Libertinage érudit dans la première moitié du xvii^e siècle*, and his *Gassendi*, Mrs. L. C. Rosenfield's *From Beast-Machine to Man-Machine*, and P. Vernière's *Spinoza et la pensée française avant la Révolution*. Professor Spink has now attempted to bring together in a synthesis the findings of these works, to supplement it by his own findings, and to give his evaluation of the combined material.

Curiously, this evaluation is for the most part contained in a "Foreword," having all the appearance of a conclusion. Free thought developed from an original skepticism, which "gave ground at first to Epicurean empiricism and Cartesian rationalism," but which united by the end of the century with these two move-

ments to form the rational skepticism of a Bayle or a Fontenelle. It was essentially social. It was the creation of men of science and men of learning and of an intelligentsia in touch with them. Finally, for Spink, its interesting period was between the earliest writings of Gassendi and Voltaire's *Traité de métaphysique*; during that period he sees two parallel, sometimes divergent, sometimes convergent movements, one naturalistic, one rationalistic. The climax of these ideas was reached in Voltaire's *Éléments*: "The substance of his thinking consisted of the combination of scepticism, Epicureanism, and rationalism which the libertins had compounded and which provided all the substance of the philosophic spirit."

Between the dogmatic statements of the "Foreword" and the characterization of Voltaire's "substance of thinking," the author has attempted to trace the movement of ideas, the formation of "isms" and their combinations. In this study he has placed the contributors with a rapid biographical note, a brief composite analysis of the works, and a few general remarks. There are some interesting chapters, especially Chapters III ("The Ideas of Cyrano de Bergerac"), VI ("Gassendi's Account of the Nature of Things"), and VIII ("The Rehabilitation of Epicurus"). By and large, however, the material presented is not new, the organization is not distinguished, and many of the evaluations may be seriously questioned.

Spink finds that French free thinking is "never dependent upon foreign inspiration," yet he appropriately brings Hobbes, Leibniz, and Spinoza into the discussion. He affirms that "the true Spinoza remained almost unknown in France, not only in the years immediately following the publication of his works but during the entire following century." He himself gives much evidence of public interest in Spinoza and cites Bayle's conviction that Spinozism had many adherents. Of course, much depends on the importance of the word "true." If one limits it to the *Ethics* and stresses the misinterpretations of Spinoza's ideas, one could make a case for limiting the influence of Spinoza upon the thinkers of the time. But one could argue as cogently that the "true" Descartes, Leibniz, and Hobbes were just as misunderstood as the "true" Spinoza. And Spinoza did, after all, write the *Tractatus* which became the model for the Biblical criticism in the clandestine essays and for much of the new political theory of the eighteenth century. Finally, it is found that when Voltaire attacked Pascal in 1734, the latter "was far from being in the public gaze at the time and had attracted but little notice." If this is true, Voltaire certainly wasted a lot of energy in writing his twenty-fifth *Lettre philosophique*. It was not in the least characteristic of him to select as an adversary someone who was not attracting public attention. Moreover, Lanson, in the very article which started these free thought investigations, has amply shown that there was an anti-Pascal movement extending from 1670 to the *Lettres philosophiques*.

These matters, though important, are of less significance than the movement of free thinking itself. The author's hypothesis as to its evolution is interesting. It

could well be that libertinism met with Epicureanism and Cartesian rationalism and became eighteenth-century skepticism. But how did it happen? This question Spink fails to answer. I do not think it can be answered by the positivistic, descriptive method that he employs.

Princeton, New Jersey

IRA O. WADE

LA GRANDE BOURGEOISIE AU POUVOIR (1830-1880): ESSAI SUR L'HISTOIRE SOCIALE DE LA FRANCE. By *Jean Lhomme*. [Bibliothèque de la science économique.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1960. Pp. viii, 378. 18 new fr.)

THIS is a first-rate book, of importance to anyone concerned with France. Its value lies not in any new documentation (emphasizing that such was not his aim, the author has intelligently utilized the best of a large specialized literature), but in the breadth of the concept of social history which he has here essayed to implement.

The study is in fact much more comprehensive than a narrow interpretation of the title would suggest. Professor Lhomme is concerned with power in its several manifestations, political, economic, and, most subtle of all, social. He is concerned not only with that thin upper layer of the middle classes, the *grande bourgeoisie*, but of necessity with its reciprocal relationships with all other segments of the population. Above all, he is skillful in dealing with the forces of change acting upon these relationships as France moves from regime to regime and through varying forms of capitalism. No narrow doctrinaire view mars this scholarly work. Although Lhomme categorically defines his scheme of analysis, he is thoroughly pliant with reference to ultimate ends.

Clearly the study cannot be fitted into any of the conventional disciplines, and herein is perhaps its greatest worth. The author, an economist by formal training and fully conscious of his vulnerability to attack, has carefully worked with admirable preciseness and superbly logical structure, never presuming beyond the task he has set himself, to create a true synthesis.

The *grande bourgeoisie*, having achieved full supremacy in all areas of French life under the July Monarchy, was to spend succeeding decades single-mindedly attempting to preserve its position. Examination of the bases of this supremacy, of the forces that arose to challenge it, and of the devices contrived to perpetuate it forms the main substance of the book. At the outset, the emphasis is primarily economic: from unquestioned economic supremacy social and political supremacy flowed so automatically as to leave the *grande bourgeoisie* indifferent to politics as such. Later the emphasis becomes more political, as the author finds this elite forced to political action to preserve its economic and social supremacy. On dating the beginnings of the *grande bourgeoisie's* decline, Lhomme makes a convincing case for the elections of 1879, which, however, he finds to have been clearly prepared by the *seize mai* crisis (for him, a declaration of total war on the Republic).

Significantly he contends that the *grande bourgeoisie* by subsequently abandoning its previously successful tactics of sheer arrogant authoritarianism ceased in effect to be itself.

With such a tightly knit work, it is perhaps unwise to ask for more. But one might wish that the author had explored in greater detail the correlation between wage movements—or the relative absence of major change—and the supremacy of the *grande bourgeoisie*. In using the sending of workers to the Philadelphia Centennial as an example of the *grande bourgeoisie*'s post-Commune continuation of the paternalistic practices of the Second Empire, he might have pointed out that in 1876 the government insisted on its right to name the delegates, which, as contemporaries were quick to stress, had assuredly not been done under the Empire.

It is to be hoped that more such studies will be produced, either by Lhomme or by his co-workers at the École Pratique des Hautes Études. This monograph could well be proposed as a model for future ventures into social history. Both in conception and in organization it merits high regard. The author, moreover, writes with clarity a prose that is a delight to read and that often, through its measure and balance, achieves true style.

American University

JEAN T. JOUGHIN

ORDEAL IN ALGERIA. By *Richard* and *Joan Brace*. (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1960. Pp. xi, 453. \$6.75.)

THIS is the best general account that has yet appeared of events in Algeria since 1954. Less vivid than that of Michael Clark, it gives a fairer picture, since the authors' knowledge of French affairs and liking for French people are balanced by their appreciation of the Moslem case. There are, of course, disadvantages in reaching objectivity by these means. The presentation is based not so much on contact with Algerian realities as on intensive study of French documentation which is then corrected by the professional *expertise* of the authors. Like most writers on the subject, they tend to describe the problem that Algeria presents for the French, rather than the more basic issue of the problem that French rule set for the Algerians. General de Gaulle's difficulties receive much more detailed consideration than those of the Moslem leaders. When Mr. Bouabid's name appears as "Boulabib," one tends to lose confidence in the French source from which the passage concerned was taken, as also when the authors accept the French journalistic estimate of 1,200,000 Europeans in Algeria when the number (deducting assimilated Jews) is 850,000. The opening pages moreover contain a number of questionable generalizations and some definite errors. It is very rash to say that Berbers are "not as devout or fanatical as the Arabs." Whether under the Romans or the Arabs, Berbers have always tended to form ultrafanatical heresies, as in the Mزاب today. If we look for fanaticism in North African rulers, it is in the first Almoravide and Almohade monarchs, pure Berbers, that we find it. The Arabic word from which

"Sahara" is taken does not mean "emptiness" or "nothingness," but simply a vast empty space or desert. The statement that the Ottoman Turks remained "almost until the arrival of the French" is odd. One of the proclaimed objectives of the French expedition was to liberate the Algerians from the Turks; the French navy actually intercepted instructions that the Ottoman Sultan was sending to the Dey. There seems no reason for spelling the Dey's name, Hussein, with two dots over the "i." The statement that the Jews formed 14 per cent of the population in 1941 implies that there were over a million Jews in Algeria at that date. In fact they numbered less than 140,000, not more than 1.6 per cent. Nearly all these last points of criticism concern the first thirteen pages. In any future edition the latter should be rewritten; they are a gratuitous blemish on a generally excellent book.

South Newington, Oxon, England

NEVILL BARBOUR

ITALY: SCHOOL FOR AWAKENING COUNTRIES. THE ITALIAN LABOR MOVEMENT IN ITS POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC SETTING FROM 1800 TO 1960. By *Maurice F. Neufeld*. [Cornell International Industrial and Labor Relations Reports, Number 5.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University. 1961. Pp. viii, 589. \$9.00.)

PROFESSOR Neufeld's love for Italy is genuine and strong, but it is not blind. He cherishes Italians for "their astonishing range of talk, talent, and temperament" but he has sought to "buttress admiration and affection with insight." He thus "determined to record and appraise the drift of historical events, the growth of union institutions, and the ideological struggle for the loyalty of workers against the turbulent rush of political, social, and economic developments from 1800 to the present time." "Labor history," and much more, is treated in his book somewhere equidistantly away from "models" of Marxist ideology and varieties of corporative unionism. The result is a precious contribution to Italian social history. The work's fundamental conclusion is never in doubt: the "free labor movement" in Italy has had a long, arduous struggle for assertion and expansion. After sixteen decades, that movement is still essentially incomplete, divided, precarious.

Neufeld has woven the vicissitudes of Italian labor into four chapters on politics, social realities, and institutional factors which constituted the "pull of history" upon the working masses. Three more chapters follow in which the same development is treated as a fundamental aspect of Italy's "drive toward the future" from 1890 to 1926, that is, from Crispian reaction to Giolittian liberalism and thence through war and "anarchy" to Fascism. The "future unfolds," not too hopefully, from 1926 to 1960, within "the long cavalcade of Italian labor's suffering and sacrifices." The efforts and the promise are shown to have been great. In Neufeld's grim conclusions, the results have proved disproportionately meager. In this year of the centennial of Italian unity the Italian labor force is found divided into

three essential parts, with a fourth as a function of all three: the social-Communist, the Christian Democrat, and the unorganized majority. In a special social and economic zone, it may be suggested, there are the semipermanent unemployed, the emigrants, and Danilo Dolci's half-forgotten people of the south.

The author is very clear as to how all this has come about and a little less so as to what uses this Italian experience might be put to by today's "awakening countries." There is richness and validity in practically all of the details on the "pulls" of Italian history that he analyzes. But there is also a basic uncertainty, a persistent obscurity, as to both the reasons why this Italian social drama unfolded as it did and why and in what manner that "experience" should be a "school for awakening countries." Is it not a bit hard, at least for a historian whose attention is being legitimately drawn to the "artificially centralized" position of Rome in 1876, to be enjoined, if only parenthetically, "Today, substitute, at pleasure, for Rome: New Delhi, Karachi, Jakarta, Accra, Bagdad, or Beirut"?

It may have been true that the Industrial Revolution came late, if it did not quite bypass, as Neufeld suggests, Italy in the nineteenth century. And it is sadly true that Italy in the modern period has suffered an almost infinite variety of social, economic, political, and ideological troubles. The essential point of view behind this assessment is significant but not altogether new. Italian history is a "natural," as our adolescents would phrase it, as a function of contemporary political and other preoccupations. In fact, *mutatis mutandis*, from Edgar Quinet and Giuseppe Ferrari to Mario Missiroli and Piero Gobetti, then to Antonio Gramsci and recent Italian Marxist ideologues, and presently from a different quarter, sensationally with Denis Mack Smith, variations on the theme that modern Italian history amounts to a series of *rivoluzioni mancate* (of revolutions that failed or missed or never occurred or were "transformed" special Italian style into "reactions") have been rather popular. Can modern Italy be subsumed under the concept of a history that was not made? If Italy "missed" the Industrial Revolution and had more than her share of adversity, are these two facts, big as they are, sufficient and valid to convert her into the "image of an ancestral guide" for the "awakening countries" of the world in 1961? What of the other big facts in the Italian historical experience, good or bad as they might be judged? If Italy is such a negative, almost hopeless, "school for awakening countries," why not Spain, or Russia, or any Balkan country? These and other questions linger in the mind as it muses on some of the basic assumptions of the author's challenging study.

Aside from the deceptively plausible title and minus the incidental empirical analogies, Neufeld's handsome and solid study constitutes a very significant American contribution to Italian social history. The felicitous style in which the hard facts of Italian history are wrapped can indeed be a model, a "school" for the presentation of social and economic history. The documentary material at the end of chapters, the bibliography, the statistical tables in the five appendixes leave

the impression of consummate scholarship. His work will long remain one of the most authoritative on modern Italian labor history.

New York University

A. WILLIAM SALOMONE

WIRTSCHAFTS- UND SOZIALGESCHICHTE ZENTRALEUROPÄISCHER STÄDTE IN NEUERER ZEIT: DARGESTELLT AN DEN BEISPIELEN VON BASEL, FRANKFURT A. M., HAMBURG, HANNOVER UND MÜNCHEN. By *Hans Mauersberg*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1960. Pp. 604. DM 34.)

MAUERSBERG is not a professional economic historian, but he received training in this field at the University of Berlin in the 1930's. With an immense amount of labor he went through the records of those carefully selected towns named in the title. He wanted to show the causes for their structural changes between the fifteenth and nineteenth century and the forms in which the progressive changes found expression. Causes and modes of change were traced in the areas of population, economy, and society at large. More specifically, the author deals with population figures, the legal and social status of urban strata, guilds and the beginnings of modern industry, transportation, and urban finance in the framework of a consolidating money economy.

In view of the author's sources and his treatment of them, the presentation would have lent itself to a systematic application of the comparative method, but he missed that opportunity. Enough material to serve that end is presented here, but mere parallel presentation is not genuine comparison. This is attained at only a limited number of places in the volume because the book is an extremely empirical performance, often written in a cumbersome and pretentious style (the first and only sentence of the first paragraph of the introduction consists of no less than seventy-nine words).

Much information has been gleaned and compiled. The presentation appears reliable, but depth and any comment on the significance of the data assembled is lacking. Hundreds of names and thousands of facts and figures stand side by side, more or less connected. Yet there are not even indexes to serve as keys to the storehouse. One is surprised that the very experienced publisher did not insist on them. There is no summary in which the author lays claim to any specific contribution that he thinks he has made.

Actually the question of whether or not the book makes a sizable contribution hinges on what, besides details, the author has added to our knowledge. This must be decided by particular specialists. I have checked carefully the chapters dealing with subjects with which I am familiar: commerce, industry, and finance. I found interesting bits of information but nothing to change the traditional picture. The

demographic part of the book is the most substantial, the author having an earlier publication in this area to his credit.

This is not a readable book. It should and will be used by specialists hunting for information in their fields. The author, however, has not seen the forest for the trees.

Harvard University

FRITZ REDLICH

FARM LABOR IN GERMANY, 1810-1945: ITS HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF AGRICULTURAL AND SOCIAL POLICY. By *Frieda Wunderlich*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. xv, 390. \$8.50.)

THE most neglected aspect of German history in the last century and a half has been the economic, and no field of economics has been as neglected as agriculture. The growth of the labor movement found a sympathetic if partial treatment in the works of such writers as Franz Mehring and Eduard Bernstein. A series of appreciative biographies, like that of Siemens by Karl Helfferich or of Bosch by Theodor Heuss, portrayed the captains of industry. But not since Georg Friedrich Knapp wrote his *Bauern-Befreiung und der Ursprung der Landarbeiter in den älteren Theilen Preussens* more than seventy years ago has there been an attempt to present a comprehensive account of German farm labor. The appearance of a new book on the subject is thus a welcome occasion.

Professor Wunderlich's work, however, does not really deal with the agricultural worker between the War of Liberation and the Second World War. The nineteenth century is disposed of in about thirty pages, and the book then concentrates on the years of the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich. Still, that is perhaps as it should be, since the great need for new research lies in the period after 1918. Besides, while the title of the book may be somewhat misleading, its content is certainly solid and substantial. Anything that the reader might want to know about farm labor in Germany is likely to be here, and probably a good deal more. Wages, hours, housing, work regulations, safety rules, *Landhilfe*, *Landdienst*, *Landjahr*, *Pflichtjahr*, *Jugenddienst*, and *Kriegshilfsdienst* are all described in great and meticulous detail.

They tell a story of the triumph of hard economic facts over constitutional forms and political ideals. The decline of the small farm, the flight from the land, the growth of agricultural mechanization, the low standard of living of the rural laborer, each continued under the Third Reich as under the Weimar Republic. In its official pronouncements National Socialism may have insisted that "German degeneration has been the consequence of concentration in big cities," that "the Third Reich will be a peasant Reich or it will not be at all." The demands of rearmament and war made it change its tune. All the ambitious plans for creating a numerous, independent peasant class were eventually sacrificed to efficiency amid

solemn appeals for "courage to get away from romanticism and tradition," since "an overaged, petrified peasantry can give no racial or ideological support." The fox had decided that the grapes were sour after all.

There is much more in this book, probably too much. At times it becomes almost a reference work, a sort of encyclopedia of agricultural statistics and regulations, full of highly useful information, but hardly a work of analysis or interpretation. It is a product of arduous, painstaking research, without much literary grace or narrative skill. Its importance lies in its sizable contribution to that definitive history of farm labor in Germany which will be written some day.

University of Wisconsin

THEODORE S. HAMEROW

THE MIND OF GERMANY: THE EDUCATION OF A NATION. By *Hans Kohn*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1960. Pp. xi, 370. \$5.95.)

HANS Kohn, untiring chronicler of modern nationalism, has returned in his latest work to a study of Germany. It is fair to say that a history of German philosophic systems or a history of the German imagination, in itself a worthwhile enterprise, would show the German mind at its best. An account, however, of the political horizons of the German intellectuals, as given by Kohn, leaves the reader shattered. *The Mind of Germany*—whose subtitle is *The Education of a Nation*—is in effect a pathological study. By avoiding the pitfalls of the irritating "national character" approach, Kohn has cleared the ground for a scholarly analysis of the German mind. His is the first one on such a broad scale in the English language.

An intellectual history of modern Germany must go back to Goethe, the last European "universal man." Kohn's chapter on Goethe and his time is beautiful and moving since it recalls a Germany which, though geographically a borderland of Western civilization, became for a brief time its intellectual center. (Kohn refers throughout to the effect of "the Enlightenment" on Germany; might he not have indicated the distinct character of the German Enlightenment, as elaborated by Dilthey?)

From there the burden of the book is to trace the tragic development that Meinecke called the "changes in the character of the German people." Two main themes stand out: the alienation of German thought from the West and the decisive role of the events of 1866, the *annus mirabilis*, in shaping the new type of German intellectual. The "treason of the intellectual," a concept first applied to the German situation by Sir Lewis Namier in his study of the nationalism of the "48ers," has ample validity for post-Napoleonic Germany. The number of worshippers of the folk nation, state, or Reich is appalling. For most Germans the nation and mankind, the state and the individual, power and freedom became rigid alternatives.

Against such a background the "revolution of 1866," as Kohn calls it, was

hardly too revolutionary. Kohn focuses too much on the "great man" Bismarck, too little on the nature of German society. Bismarck neither shaped nor broke the German *Bürgertum*; his shrewd manipulation of the *Bürgertum* was possible only in a society that since the eighteenth century has never had a proud, self-conscious, political-minded middle class. The "surrender" of German liberalism in 1866 constituted in effect only the final act of the traditional political effacement of the German bourgeoisie.

No less distressing than the record of German liberalism is the one of German conservative thought. In particular, the cultural critics of the Second Reich and the new conservatives of the twentieth century outdid the liberals in their Germanophilism, anti-Westernism, and dislike of democracy. By the twentieth century the point of orientation for the Germans was clearly no longer Goethe (in the 1930's the poet Hans Carossa discussed the distance from Goethe ["Goethe-Ferne"] of his time) but the dynamic, restless, disturbed, and disturbing Nietzsche. The German mind of the twentieth century was, as Erich Heller put it recently, "disinherited."

A comment on the problem of the alienation of German thought from the West, which figures so prominently in this book, is in order. It is, as Holborn wrote, "one of the most important problems of historiography." Though it was raised by Troeltsch and Meinecke nearly forty years ago, much of it remains unexplored. Much ground work still has to be done, sober, discriminating, analytical groundwork that goes beyond a juxtaposition of Western and German thought. (The concept "Western" in itself is highly complex and includes often dissimilar Anglo-Saxon and French influences.) The different styles of thought and institutions will have to be related to a study of different economic and social structures. It is to be hoped that Kohn's learned, inspired, but necessarily general approach will induce other scholars to follow up some of the more detailed but no less interesting aspects of the problem.

Smith College

KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER

DAS ENDE DER PARTEIEN, 1933. Edited by *Erich Matthias* and *Rudolf Morsey*. ([Düsseldorf:] Droste Verlag for the Kommission für Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der Politischen Parteien. [1960.] Pp. 816.)

THE closing years of the Weimar Republic have already been the subject of a careful analysis in Karl Dietrich Bracher's detailed study *Die Auflösung der Weimarer Republik* (1955). The present volume singles out part of Bracher's story for fuller treatment—the gradual dissolution of Germany's political parties in a rising climate of totalitarianism. It is a cooperative work, with individual chapters on each of the major parties. The contributions differ in length and quality, but most of them are supplemented by useful selections of documents, many hitherto unpublished. There are few startling revelations in this hefty book. Its main value

lies in deepening our understanding of one of the most crucial turning points in German history.

The end of the Weimar "party state" was a gradual process, beginning long before Hitler seized power. As Werner Conze's introductory essay points out, Hitler merely gave the deathblow to a system whose defects had long been obvious. Foremost among these defects was each party's preoccupation with its own narrow interests to the exclusion of constructive collaboration for the common good. This egocentricity had prevented the formation of workable majorities as early as 1920, causing a latent crisis which came to a head after 1930. Even the rising threat of totalitarianism at that time did not lead the moderate parties to end their differences. Their halfhearted efforts were overtaken by events in 1932, when extremism of the Right and Left gained the absolute majority and precluded any democratic solution of the crisis.

The best contributions in the book are those of its editors, Erich Matthias and Rudolf Morsey, dealing with the Social Democratic and Center parties respectively. Socialist acquiescence in Hitler's rise was due to paralysis at the top rather than among the rank and file. The suicidal lethargy of the Socialist leaders, according to Matthias, was due to their long-standing commitment to humanitarianism, democracy, and gradualism. Some such attitudes also existed within the Center party. Yet there was a greater readiness here to compromise and to give totalitarianism a try.

Among the remaining chapters, the joint contribution by Matthias and Morsey on the *Staatspartei* stands out. Those by Karl Schwend on the Bavarian People's party and by Hans Booms on the German People's party are less successful. Of special interest are the chapters by Freiherr Hiller von Gaertringen on the German National People's party and by Siegfried Bahne on the German Communist party. The policy of the Nationalists was almost wholly controlled by Alfred Hugenberg, whose hope of "taming" Hitler was such a dismal fiasco. The Communists closely adhered to Moscow's line of "ultra-left" opposition to Social Democracy. Their belief that Nazi rule would be the "inevitable transition" to Communism proved thoroughly mistaken.

In a concluding essay, Alfred Milatz discusses "the end of the parties as reflected in the elections of 1930-1933." His careful analysis of the gradual shift to extremism, illustrated by numerous charts and graphs, is most useful. One thing missing in this otherwise excellent book is an adequate summary. As one reads each individual contribution, one is struck by certain recurring themes: the abandonment of committee rule in favor of one-man control in several parties before 1933, the strong sentiment for resistance against Nazism among party followers as distinguished from their leaders, and the utter blindness of these leaders toward the ultimate aims of Hitler. It was this blindness more than anything that explains the suicide of the Weimar Republic.

Johns Hopkins University

HANS W. GATZKE

PAPSTVO I RUS V X–XV VEKAKH [Papacy and Russia in the x–xv Centuries]. By *B. Ya. Ramm*. (Moscow: Academy of Sciences of the USSR. 1959. Pp. 282.)

RUSSLAND UND DAS PAPSTTUM: VON DER CHRISTIANISIERUNG BIS ZU DEN ANFÄNGEN DER AUFKLÄRUNG. By *Eduard Winter*. [Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas, Number 6.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1960. Pp. xiv, 375.)

UNTIL recently, little had been published by Soviet historians on the vital problem of the relationship between Russia and the papacy. We therefore appreciate the appearance of two important publications—one from the Soviet Union, the other from Soviet-dominated East Germany. Both are written by competent historians, fully acquainted with the sources; indeed, the book by Ramm contains one of the best bibliographies available on the subject. Both are reinterpretations rather than additions, for they are based on well-known sources. The Russian archives (if Ramm has investigated them) apparently contain nothing that is unknown. Winter's work, however, makes extensive use of Western Slavic, especially Czech, sources and thereby provides, in the context in which he presents his material, valuable new insights. Both writers continue to employ the usual Soviet catchwords ("aggression," "feudalism," "Tartar yoke") and deprecating adjectives (*doppelzünftig*, *dvoinuiu igru*, *rachgierig*) when speaking of the West and commendatory ones (*geroicheskii*, *friedfertig*) for the East, with their propagandistic, moralizing, and pro-Russian nationalistic undertones. They do, however, happily refrain from the insinuations of the average Soviet or Sovietized historian and present us with studies well worth serious consideration. While providing a counterweight against one-sided Western histories, they yet agree in many parts with what they choose to call bourgeois interpretations.

Despite these similarities, the two books are fundamentally different. One chief difference lies in the fact that Ramm approaches his subject without understanding, or desiring to understand, the spiritual claims and religious components of the papal policy, while Winter has a feeling for the religious world and, even where sharply opposed, is clearly aware of the issues. His work thus goes deeper than Ramm's. Both exaggerate the cohesion between Russia and other European nations in medieval times, but Winter, through his formula for a "Europa tripartita" (Catholic Europe, Byzantium, Russia) which exaggerates Russia's importance, at least avows a fundamental split. Ramm concentrates on many individual issues, emphasizing those which support his thesis of "papal aggression." Winter does not enter into arguments about details, nor does he put such weight on the unquestionably expansive policies of the papacy in the thirteenth century, which fill half of Ramm's work. Instead, he is concerned with the major evolutionary path. He shares with Ramm the by no means proved (or provable) thesis that Catholicism would have meant the loss of Russia's national identity. (Did it

mean that for Western nations? And did not Tartar conquest and Poland's policy of barring West-East contacts divert Russian evolution far more intensively?) But he sees more clearly than Ramm that the Russians and the Poles used Catholicism to serve selfish national interests.

Lack of space does not permit treating in detail the many important and debatable problems touched by the two books. Ramm simplifies too much, does not see the often divergent trends within the Catholic world (which Winter brings out well), makes no distinction between a crusading spirit (such as Marxism also possesses) and aggression, and overestimates the power and initiative of Rome. He readily accepts those sources which fit his views, as, for example, Simeon's and Avraam's reports on the Council of Florence, but he is critical enough of others less suitable for his purposes, such as the accounts of the missions in Otto the Great's times, or he ignores them altogether, like the praise of the German Emperor Barbarossa in the Russian chronicle. He is weakest for the twelfth century. Winter keeps a better balance. Perhaps he overemphasizes the insistence of the popes on the use of Latin instead of Slavonic or willfully (and incorrectly) represents religious objectives of the papacy as specific anti-Russian measures. Moreover, he repeatedly and unconvincingly introduces "class" interests and occasionally loses his sense of proportion, as when speaking of a "Renaissance" in Russia. His presentation of the Union of Brest as a mere step toward complete Latinization is debatable, and his concentration, for the seventeenth century, on the role of the West Slavs as a link and barrier between Russia and the papacy, interesting though it is, deprives the reader of a perspective of the existent direct Russian-Roman connections. There are also smaller errors, such as calling St. Bernard the "founder" of the Cistercian Order and dating the Christianization of Scandinavia around "1133." But more important, there is a thorough mastery of the subject, a better presentation than Ramm's of the origins of the Orthodox Church in Russia; details, such as his discussion of Pighius, open up new vistas.

As a whole, both Ramm's and, in particular, Winter's presentation of the relationship of Russia and the papacy cannot fail to constitute a contribution which no serious student of the field of Western-Russian relations can afford to neglect.

University of Delaware

WALTHER KIRCHNER

DIE BAUERN IN DER RUS VON DEN ÄLTESTEN ZEITEN BIS ZUM
17. JAHRHUNDERT. In two volumes. By *B. D. Grekov*. (Berlin: Akademie-
Verlag. 1958; 1959. Pp. 539; 491. DM 30; DM 48.)

THIS East German translation of Grekov's last and greatest book is an invaluable addition to the works on Russian history available in Western tongues. The first Russian edition appeared in 1948, and in 1954 a second edition was published in two volumes. This translation is of the second edition.

Academician Grekov, who died in 1953 at the age of seventy-one, began his

career as a productive scholar in 1908. He published a number of monographs, wrote about two hundred articles, edited several source collections, and contributed to and edited comparative histories of his homeland. The three leading Soviet historical serial publications were begun under his aegis, and he served as the first editor of all three. In the post-Pokrovskii era of Russian historiography he was recognized as his country's most eminent living historian, was awarded several decorations, and thrice received a Stalin prize for his historical works. In addition, he entered political life and became a member of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in 1950.

Grekov ranged widely over the field of Russian history. His chief interest, however, and his major contributions were in medieval history, and especially the history of the peasantry. Some of his many works are repetitious, some are marred by strong political overtones or by an uncritical acceptance of Marxist theories, and some seem to have been hastily and carelessly written. But others, especially this book, represent great scholarly achievements.

As Grekov saw it, the history of the Russian peasantry from the beginnings of Slavic settlement to the mid-seventeenth century divided itself into four socioeconomic periods: the era of primitive communal economy, lasting until the ninth century; the era of primitive labor rent, ending in the twelfth century; the era of rent in kind, persisting into the fifteenth century; and the age of labor rent, beginning in the last part of the fifteenth century. He ended his study with the Law Code of Czar Alexei Mikhailovich (1649) that brought the process of enservment to its close. In that section of his book dealing with the era of rent in kind he included lengthy chapters about Russia's western borderlands and neighbors, showing the interconnections and parallels between the evolution of their agrarian institutions and those of northeastern Russia.

Many criticisms can be made of Grekov's method and interpretations. The most serious charge is that he tailored his history to the Marxian scheme of social development. In his analysis of pre-Kievan society, the shortest and by far the weakest part of the book, he accepts the Morgan-Engels theory of primitive society. He dates the beginning of private landownership at the ninth century or earlier. Arguing that the Kievan state was feudal, he overemphasizes the importance of semi-independent peasants in the manorial labor force of those centuries and underestimates the role of slave workers. He exaggerates the degree to which peasants were dependent upon their landlords in the era of Mongol domination. He refuses to recognize the significant part played by the state-making policies of the czars of Muscovy in bringing about the binding of the seignioral peasantry. And he slavishly follows the annoying Soviet practice of studding his pages and clinching his arguments with pronouncements of the doctors of Marxism-Leninism.

Despite shortcomings such as these, Grekov's book must be given a place as one of the indispensable works on Russian history. It is the first major effort at

a comprehensive history of the Russian peasantry since Beliaev's long-outdated and always inadequate *Krest'iane na Rusi*, published in 1860. It weaves together Grekov's own findings and those of other scholars into a masterly synthesis. It presents challenging reinterpretations of the sparse written sources and of archaeological and linguistic evidence. It can be questioned at many points, but it must be read, and considered seriously. It is a lasting contribution to Russian historiography and a fitting monument to a great scholar.

Princeton University

JEROME BLUM

NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIA. By *Hans Rogger*. [Russian Research Center Studies, Number 38.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 319. \$6.75.)

PROFESSOR Rogger has written an important and extremely interesting book from which much can be learned not only by Russian historians but by all historians interested in the history of ideas and in the history of a fundamental idea.

Rogger's subject is the Russian search for identity in the eighteenth century (a period generally overlooked by historians). In this context, "national consciousness" signifies a stage in the process of development of full-blown nationalism. The eighteenth century in Russia was a period of transition when the Russians, having lost or abandoned the values and identity provided by what one may call the medieval, "transcendental" outlook, were searching for new values and a new identity. In the nineteenth century these new values and identity were rationalized and systematized into complete and structured myths which characterize nationalism in its modern stage.

Rogger sees the development of a Russian national consciousness in the early eighteenth century as a reaction on the part of the Westernized, educated ruling class to the influx of Westerners who occupied the top positions in the administration and to the importation of Western higher culture. The search for national and personal identity was complicated, however, by the fact that it was initiated by a class already strongly Westernized; in its search for antecedents to justify a national consciousness—language, culture, customs—it was forced to hark back to the period before the Petrine, secular state of which it was itself a creation. Hence the tension so well illustrated by Rogger: to be a Russian and a member of the Westernized gentry at the same time required fine balancing. In the second half of the eighteenth century, with the gentry emancipated, the problem grew even more complex. In effect, what Rogger portrays is the Russian gentry trying to answer the question: Who are the Russians—the tiny minority seeking national identity or the overwhelming majority, the peasants, who were neither legally nor psychologically part of Russian society? Some, the historians in particular, solved the problem by going back to pre-Petrine Russia and its cultural unity, from which

they could draw their image of the Russian man and the Russian soul. Others were led by national consciousness to social criticism and even protest.

Generally, as Rogger very correctly points out, national consciousness did not result in xenophobia or any violent rejection of the West, exactly because it was being developed by the Westernized elements of Russian society. This brings me to two major points of disagreement with Rogger. He sees Russian national consciousness as the "response made to the challenge of a more advanced civilization by the intellectual classes of a more backward one"; "it was itself another aspect of the Westernization of Russian society." The point here is that to a seventeenth-century Russian the idea of Western superiority would be ludicrous, not because he was cut off from Western culture, but because for the purposes of the "Third Rome," Western culture was, at best, irrelevant, even though at the same time much technological borrowing took place. Ideological-cultural borrowing of the eighteenth century occurred only when a secular state evolved in Russia, requiring new values and a new religion, the religion of the state. The sudden Russian receptivity to the West was based on these requirements and on the fact that the West, itself in the process of secularization, could serve as a model and provide guideposts. This leads to the second point. Rogger argues that "As far as Russia is concerned, the carriers of national consciousness were not a distinct social or economic group . . . but an aristocracy of education and intellect. . . ." On the contrary, these carriers were members of a very distinct social group; they were of the ruling class, the gentry. They sought identity exactly because they were the new, secular Russia, the Russian Empire which replaced the Muscovite *Rus'* and which needed new myths in place of the old ones, the more so because this new Russian state embraced only a small minority of Russians. The majority probably rejected the Russian Empire as they rejected the new title "Imperator" for the old one of czar. Russian national consciousness was, and remained for a long time, gentry consciousness.

Wesleyan University

MICHAEL CHERNIAVSKY

Near East

THE STRUGGLE FOR ARAB INDEPENDENCE: WESTERN DIPLOMACY AND THE RISE AND FALL OF FAISAL'S KINGDOM IN SYRIA. By Zeine N. Zeine. (Beirut, Lebanon: Khayat's. 1960. Pp. xiii, 297. \$5.50.)

THIS work is misnamed. Far from being an account of the Arab effort to secure independence, it is primarily a story of the World War I secret agreements among the Western Allies to partition the disintegrating Ottoman Empire among themselves and of their postwar struggles to accomplish this objective and, thus, to stifle whatever Arab aspiration for independence existed at that time. The

material concerning the diplomatic and military struggles over Syria during and after the war has been told before, but Zeine, who is a professor of history at the American University of Beirut, provides a meticulous and detailed summary of the published material together with the addition of interesting, although hardly startling, new details gleaned from the European archives and the seldom used records of the King-Crane commission and of the Maronite patriarchy in the Lebanon. Most important of all, to a much greater extent than in most accounts of diplomatic history concerning the Middle East, local sources have been used. Emphasis has also been given to the impact of the European conflicts on Syria and, to a certain extent, the impact of local conditions on the European maneuverings, although the latter emphasis is still somewhat less than one might expect from a native of the region using native sources. Because these struggles "determined the fate of the whole Near East for over a quarter of a century after the first World War" and because the peace settlement consequently still provides a fertile stimulus to Arab emotion, the author's relative objectivity is to be praised and admired. His conclusion that the promises which were made to the Arabs during the war were no more than elements in a diplomacy designed to secure victory in Europe and that they were, indeed, intentionally vague and subject to interpretation is a somewhat unique position on this issue among modern Arab historians. That the leaders of the period were "misled by ignorance, misguided by enthusiasm, and blinded by national interest and love of prestige and power" cannot be disputed.

The work contains a useful bibliography of published and unpublished materials, but it is somewhat astonishing to observe the relative paucity of Arabic and Turkish sources in comparison to those European-language sources available even in published works. In demonstrating to the diplomatic historian, however, that accounts of diplomatic and military conflicts concerning the Middle East cannot be complete without the use of source materials in the Middle Eastern languages, the work is important and useful.

The appendix contains copies of previously unpublished letters and reports, including an exchange between Sir Henry McMahon and Emir Hussein, but they add little to our knowledge of the subject.

Harvard University

STANFORD J. SHAW

Far East

THE CONFUCIAN PERSUASION. Edited by *Arthur F. Wright*. [Stanford Studies in the Civilizations of Eastern Asia.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 390. \$8.50.)

THIS collection of ten research essays with an introduction is the fourth volume relating to Chinese (especially Confucian) ideas and institutions to emanate from conferences organized very largely through the efforts of Arthur F. Wright,

as chairman of the Committee on Chinese Thought of the Association for Asian Studies. The three previous volumes contained thirty-three essays and three introductions; a fifth symposium, "devoted to biographical studies of Confucians whose lives reveal the relation between their creeds and their patterns of behavior," is promised. These volumes certainly mark the coming of age of American Sinology in the area of intellectual and institutional history, since most of the articles are written by American or Chinese (nine by Chinese) scholars trained partially or wholly in the United States and now permanently living here. Three articles are by Englishmen, two by Japanese, one by a Frenchman, and two by German-trained scholars now permanently associated with American universities. One American received his degree from Leiden. These studies, based on Chinese sources and replete with translations from the Chinese, can hold their own in quality with similar works dealing with European or American history.

Like the essays in previous volumes, these studies range over most of Chinese history beginning as they do with Hisayuki Miyakawa's "Confucianization of South-China" from the Han period onward and ending with Tse-tsung Chow's "Anti-Confucian Movement in Early Republican China." Miyakawa's rather pedestrian article, while illustrating various aspects of the expansion of Chinese culture and control into southern China, leaves much to be done in this almost unexplored but very important phase of Chinese history. Chow's article, which concentrates on a fifteen-year period after 1911 and can be supplemented by his book (*The May Fourth Movement*), illuminates how the effort to free the individual from the old system helped to bring him into an even more all-embracing bondage to the state.

The articles by Wright on "Sui Yang-ti: Personality and Stereotype" and Pulleyblank on "Neo-Confucianism and Neo-Legalism in T'ang Intellectual Life 755-805" concentrate on limited periods and add much to our knowledge and understanding of the Sui and T'ang periods. Wright presents a clearly etched picture of the life and times, accomplishments and failures of the second and last emperor (604-618) of the Sui dynasty, and of how he gradually emerges as a stereotype of the wicked ruler who lost the mandate of heaven. Pulleyblank deals with the policies and ideas of statesmen and thinkers such as Liu Yen, Yang Yen, Tan Chu, Lu Hsüan-kung, Tu Yu, Liu Tsung-yüan, and Han Yü who contributed to the revival of the T'ang dynasty during the half century after the rebellion of An Lu-shan.

Cahill's "Confucian Elements in the Theory of Painting" supports with impressive quotations and documentation his theme that the ideals of *wen-jen hua*, or literati painting, were fully developed by Confucians during the Sung period and did not originate later as a sort of Taoist or Ch'anist inspired revolt against Confucian formality. Three heroic types, the prince, the scholar, and the swordsman, found in Chinese novels and dramas are discussed in Ruhlmann's "Traditional Heroes in Chinese Popular Fiction," while Nivison traces the history of

protests against aspects of the examination system which discouraged originality and rewarded mediocrity in "Protests Against Conventions and Conventions of Protest."

In his "Confucian Eremitism in the Yüan Period," Mote expounds conditions under which scholars were likely to honor or disregard the Confucian doctrine of permanent loyalty to the dynasty they served. Dependence on non-Confucian religious beliefs and practices, the carrying out of land redistribution and tax and rent reforms, and opposition to alien rulers are among "Some Themes in Chinese Rebel Ideologies" discussed by Yuji Muramatsu. Levenson's discerning discussion of the changing set of ideas associated with the *ching-t'ien* or well-field system, especially during the last seventy-five years, would be of real use to more people if it were less compressed and were written in somewhat simpler language.

University of Chicago

EARL H. PRITCHARD

A HISTORY OF INDIAN POLITICAL IDEAS: THE ANCIENT PERIOD AND THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION TO THE MIDDLE AGES. By U. N. Ghoshal. (3d rev. ed.; New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. xxii, 589. \$7.90.)

PROFESSOR Ghoshal published *A History of Hindu Political Theories* in 1923, and a second, expanded version of it in 1927. The present volume is a third edition, enlarged and rewritten, of the work, with a changed title. It uses the Brahmanical, Buddhist, and Jain sources from the beginning of Indian literary records down to about A.D. 1200, extracts data from all the original sources, analyzes and compares the material, draws conclusions, and thus presents an authoritative history of Indian political thought, sequentially arranged and critically handled. The standard work in this field, it is full of information not only for specialists on Indian political institutions but for students of political theory generally. The author is widely read in European political writings and makes copious and illuminating comparisons between European and Indian theory and development.

The first data on political thought in India appear in sketchy and unsystematized allusions in the Rig-Veda, Yajur-Veda, and Atharva-Veda, and the Brahmanas, a little later in time, but closely associated with those three texts. These allusions mark the beginning of an evolutionary continuity throughout the more than two-thousand-year period that Ghoshal treats. From the start a number of basic problems arise, all of which he considers: the authority of law and custom, the origin of the social order, the authority of the temporal power, the status of the temporal and spiritual powers, the theory of Brahmanical immunities. Once these topics have gained attention, they ramify widely in the literature, leading to discussions and conflicting opinions on such issues as the source of the king's power, whether divine or human or deriving from contract between ruler and ruled; the functions of the king, whether to serve the divine order, to protect

the people, or to assure the health and perpetuation of the state; the relation of the king to the priest, whether inferior, superior, or coordinate. The relationship of rulership and conservation of the state to religion and morality is approached with many different theories. The claim of the Brahman to immunity from taxation is affirmed as early as in the Atharva-Veda, where such taxation is repudiated in terms of the Brahman's cow, the symbol of his property, which is declared inviolable and sacrosanct, under penalty of the direst curses upon the king who dares to attach it. As political thinking advances, other kinds of problems must be considered, such as the relation between central or divinely ordered law and local practices and which of the two should prevail when there is conflict. Each side has its proponents. Notions appear that tend toward the idea of the welfare state. A variety of theories come into existence concerning the origin of government, including, perhaps most characteristically, that of the need for a ruler when evil and violence appear and spread among men as the universe moves in progressive deterioration from a mythical and remote golden age of righteousness and happiness to its present corrupt stage, which is unfortunately destined to grow even worse.

Most of the early material appears in works that are primarily religious in purpose. Politically relevant material is either slight or clearly subordinated to religious considerations. There was, however, a secular tradition of *Arthaśāstra*, "the acquisition and preservation of dominion," how old we cannot say, but represented for us in Kauṭilya's inclusive and systematic work of that same name, which refers to predecessors now lost. Though Ghoshal does not date Kauṭilya as early as do some Indian scholars, he still seems to accept the tradition that he lived in Mauryan, or at least Nanda, times, a theory to which he gives plausibility by placing Kauṭilya's thinking in a sequence preceding the thinking of Manu and the *Mahābhārata*. Toward the end of the period that the author treats appear technical treatises on statecraft, based upon Kauṭilya and other authors, purporting to assess them and to give complete guidance to rulers.

It would have made this voluminous, well-ordered, analytical, and thoughtful work much more useful if it had been provided with full indexes instead of brief and frustrating ones.

University of Pennsylvania

W. NORMAN BROWN

KRESTIANSKOE PETITIONNOE DVIZHENIE V IAPONII VO VTOROI POLOVINE XVII-NACHALE XVIII V. [Peasant Petition Movement in Japan in the Second Half of the 17th and Beginning of the 18th Centuries]. By G. I. Podpalova. (Moscow: Oriental Literature Press for the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Institute of Orientalology. 1960. Pp. 277. 9 rubles, 50 kopecks.)

IAPONIIA: VOPROSY ISTORII [Japan: Problems of History]. [Scholarly

Notes of the Institute of Orientology of the Academy of Sciences, Volume XXIII.] (Moscow: Oriental Literature Press for the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Institute of Orientology. 1959. Pp. 330. 12 rubles.)

Miss Podpalova's book consists of three chapters: a socioeconomic study of Japan, agrarian relations and the position of the peasantry, and the struggle of the Japanese peasantry in the period under consideration. While the work is a concise and well-documented statement of the Soviet position in the continuing polemic on Japanese feudalism, based on wide reading in Japanese materials, the notes (there is no bibliography) show certain lacunae, particularly in postwar studies. The book includes appendixes with translations of sixty documents.

Noting that the stages of the development of the peasant movement do not coincide with the stages of the economic development of Japan, the author maintains that contradictions in productive relations intensified not in the middle of the seventeenth century, but rather at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. This, she explains, is because the development of productive relations, as a rule, is slower than changes in productive forces. The peasant movements were basically antitaxation, not antifeudal, as is shown by the evident lack of incidents involving destruction of homes and persons of the ruling class or against the central government. Most were directed against minor officials. The movements, she maintains, were successful in overcoming certain feudal institutions (sale of peasants, for example). At the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, the movements became more complicated and developed political (antifeudal) aspects in addition to economic (antitax) demands. Remaining petitionary in form, in content they became a transitional stage to the antifeudal uprisings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The second volume, a collection of articles, is in the nature of a polemic with Japanese historians, including "progressives." It includes: Iskenderov, "Some Problems of the Study of a Japanese Feudal City"; Fainberg, "The Beginning of the Expansion of European Powers in Japan (1542-1640)"; Pozdnyakov, "The Role of Land-Surveying in the Enserfing of the Japanese Peasantry in the Second Half of the 16th Century"; Gal'perin, "The Socioeconomic Preconditions of the Bourgeois Revolution in Japan"; Topekha, "The Fall of the Shogunate"; Bednyak, "Concerning the Development of Japanese Capitalism into the Monopoly Stage and the Character of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905"; Kozorovitskaya, "The Labor and Socialist Movement in Japan after the First World War (1917-1923)"; Fainberg, "The Japanese in Russia in the Period of the Self-Isolation of Japan" (using some unpublished Russian archival materials); Leonidov, "From the History of the Normalization of Soviet-Japanese Relations after the Second World War." It concludes with a translation of the chronology of peasant activities in the Tokugawa period which originally appeared in *Nihon shiryō shūsei* (Tokyo, 1956).

Moscow has embarked upon a program to enhance its position as the source of ideology and innovation in Asia. The vital role that scholarship will play in this campaign was evident at the Twenty-fifth Congress of Orientalists in Moscow. Both these volumes are particularly significant in that they seek to engage directly the attention of the most highly developed and most Marxist non-Communist scholarly community in Asia. This is particularly evident in the articles on the backgrounds to the Meiji Restoration, Japanese capitalism, and the Russo-Japanese War.

Harvard University

MARK MANCALL

INDIA: THE MOST DANGEROUS DECADES. By *Selig S. Harrison*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 350. \$6.50.)

WITH this book on centrifugal forces endangering the survival of the Indian Union as a parliamentary democracy, the Princeton University Press has added another substantial work to its already impressive list of books on recent South Asian political problems. The author, a former Associated Press correspondent in India and now associate editor of *The New Republic*, has gathered much valuable data from a wide variety of English-language sources and has also drawn on specially prepared translations from books and articles in Russian to show the transition in Soviet policy from encouragement of regional separatism in India to the greater stress on national unity in the post-Stalin era.

Though Harrison poses the question, "Can the nation hold together?" in his opening chapter, his later chapters are devoted almost entirely to the divisive forces at work in Indian society and politics. So intent is the author on cataloguing the fissiparous effects of caste lobbies, linguistically determined states, and diverse economic interests, he seems grimly determined to answer his own question in the negative wherever possible. This bias is the major weakness of the book. His chapter on the historical antecedents of regional separatism, for instance, contains a fascinating survey of the past conflicts and differences among India's regions, but omits entirely the unifying influences at work in the last two centuries—the introduction of modern transportation by sea, rail, and air, the establishment of a uniform administration of officials recruited by examinations, the use of English in higher education and in newspaper and book publishing, and so forth. While he presents much interesting information on the pivotal role of caste groupings in India's quinquennial elections (for example, "Communist candidates won their margins of victory most often when they were able to exploit allegiance to caste and to language region."), he ignores the possibility that rivalries among castes within a given linguistic state may weaken, not strengthen, that state's ability to increase its independence of the central government.

Harrison also seems to contradict himself in the conclusions he draws from the series of well-organized and well-documented case studies that make up the

bulk of his volume. On page 314 he says, "there can be little doubt as to the triumph, at some point, of the forces pushing India toward greater centralization, achieved one way or another." On page 338, however, he writes, "in 'the most dangerous decades' the issue is, in fact, whether any Indian state can survive at all." He states a more balanced view on page 337: "No 'final' outcome is in prospect, neither the enduring triumph of a strong central state nor irrevocable Balkanization. Instead India is likely to experience a succession of political shocks as centripetal and centrifugal forces alternately gain dominant strength." This book's main contribution does not lie in these isolated attempts to peer into India's future, but in the author's painstaking reconstruction of the strategy, the successes, and the weaknesses of the Communist party of India as it has sought in years past to exploit that country's social and linguistic diversity.

University of Chicago

STEPHEN N. HAY

America

A GUIDE TO ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPTS IN THE UNITED STATES. Edited by *Philip M. Hamer*. [Compiled for the National Historical Publications Commission.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1961. Pp. xxiii, 775. \$12.50.)

SELDOM in the past have historians been so blessed with new tools for their trade as during the current year. The Library of Congress *Guide to the Study of the United States of America*, the Census Bureau's improved *Historical Statistics of the United States*, and the *American Historical Association's Guide to Historical Literature* have already become "musts" for every well-stocked study. To these must be added this bulky, invaluable volume. Until its appearance, scholars searching for manuscripts pertinent to any subject have been forced to thumb through the 250 published guides to local depositories, not to mention the hundreds of Historical Records Survey listings of county records and church archives. Now they need only pull this useful work from their shelves, consult its thorough name-subject index, and learn exactly the location and extent of all manuscripts essential to the problem under investigation.

Philip M. Hamer and his expert staff of the National Historical Publications Commission have accomplished this marvel of usefulness by listing the principal manuscript and archival holdings of thirteen hundred depositories in the fifty states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Canal Zone. The material is admirably arranged; libraries are listed alphabetically under each city or town, with the address and name of the librarian or archivist included to facilitate further inquiries. For each depository there is a brief description of the principal collections, followed by an alphabetical listing, by individual, of the manuscript

holdings judged sufficiently important for inclusion. Excluded are collections of less than fifty items and papers of persons not important enough to be listed in the *Dictionary of American Biography* or *Who's Who in America*. In the larger depositories, individuals listed are grouped under major classifications, such as "presidents and cabinet officers," "congressmen," and "literary figures." Printed guides to depositories, where available, are also listed. Thus every possible care has been taken to anticipate the needs of the most exacting user.

The closely packed pages of this volume reveal some surprising facts concerning the distribution of manuscript collections. Little-known public libraries, usually neglected by historians, house a number of significant collections; important holdings are also to be found in such unlikely places as the Grand Canyon National Park headquarters, the First National Bank of Chicago, the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, the Frances E. Willard Library for Alcohol Research of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Ladies' Social Library of Blue Hill, Maine, and the Dennis Memorial Library of Newton, New Jersey, which proudly lists five volumes of inscriptions copied from headstones in Sussex County. At the opposite end of the scale, the *Guide* demonstrates the concentration of the more important manuscript collections in relatively few depositories. The Library of Congress requires forty-one pages to list its 15,700,000 items, followed by the Harvard University libraries with thirteen pages, the New York Public Library, the University of North Carolina Library, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania with ten pages, and the Princeton University Library and the Massachusetts Historical Society with eight pages. That quantity cannot always be equated with usefulness is suggested by the fact that the Division of State Archives and Public Records of the State of Colorado lists holdings of 25,000,000 items (almost twice as many as the Library of Congress), while the rich manuscript holdings of the Henry E. Huntington Library number only 1,500,000 items.

Random sampling indicates that the name-subject index is laudably complete. I was disappointed, however, to find the papers of Frederick Jackson Turner listed at only the Houghton Library and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The omission of the bulk of the Turner papers at the Huntington Library may have been justified; the *Guide* pretends completeness only to December 31, 1959, and this collection was not opened to scholars until two days later. Less easy to understand is the failure to list the six boxes of Turner letters and documents in the University Archives of the Wisconsin Memorial Library.

Such oversights can be forgiven, for seldom have historians been presented with a tool as essential as this. Its usefulness will continue long after the completion of the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections, now under preparation at the Library of Congress, for this monumental listing will be available only at selected research libraries. Historians for a generation to come, while pulling this *Guide* from their shelves as the first step in any archival investigation,

will say a prayer of thanks to the National Historical Publications Commission and its devoted staff. That prayer is well deserved.

Northwestern University

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON

THE ULTIMATE DECISION: THE PRESIDENT AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF. Edited with an introduction by *Ernest R. May*. (New York: George Braziller. 1960. Pp. xvii, 290. \$6.00.)

DURING the last two years there has been a spate of books about the American presidency. This development in historiography indicates, I think, the realization that the presidency is the vital nerve center of the American system. Some of the recent books have been general in nature, others have dealt with specific Presidents, while still others have examined the technical functioning of the executive branch. *The Ultimate Decision* does something different. It is an interesting and valuable analysis of those Presidents who functioned as commander in chief in wartime situations. While the essays vary somewhat in quality, there is not a weak one in the collection. Ernest May's opening essay analyzing why the founding fathers decided that the President "shall be Commander in Chief" is an excellent example of first-class historical detective work. Since little was said at the Philadelphia Convention concerning this point, May ranges through English, continental, and colonial American experience to discover the answer. He concludes that the commander in chief clause was intended "in the first place, to insure that control over the armed forces remained in politically responsible hands." Secondly, the President in this role was expected to make the choices between primary and secondary theaters of fighting and to select the commanders to direct operations. All of the subsequent essays focus on these two broad conceptions, and thus there is a coherence about this book that is frequently lacking in collaborative volumes.

Marcus Cunliffe, who writes gracefully and informedly about Madison, obviously had a difficult assignment. Cunliffe concludes that "It seems evident that he did not make an inspiring success of the task, though we may beg the question by saying that the task was impossible. It may also seem evident that in my view he did not disgrace the office. . . ." The late Leonard D. White's careful, crisp analysis of Polk is taken from his book *The Jacksonians*. T. Harry Williams' essay on Lincoln is also familiar since it is from his well-known work *Lincoln and His Generals*.

May's essay on McKinley, like Cunliffe's on Madison, examines the difficulties posed by a weak President as commander in chief. It was quite obvious that McKinley could not manage military affairs as did Polk or Lincoln. As a result, it was fortunate for us that we were fighting a limited war against a weak power. May's chapter on Wilson reflects how dramatically the office varies from President to President. Wilson forbade military interference with policy, but at the same

time he believed that policy makers should not interfere with military operations. It is May's contention that Wilson did not want to get involved in military disputes among the Allied generals for fear that he might then have to agree to French and British political demands. May concludes that "He evaded duty as commander in chief in order to do his duty as president of the United States."

William R. Emerson's essay on Franklin D. Roosevelt is a particularly able discussion. Emerson observes that while Roosevelt frequently ignored recommendations of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from 1939 to 1943, after that he and the Chiefs were in close agreement. The author feels that this came about because the Chiefs adapted to Roosevelt's broader aims. Emerson, however, underrates the influence of the Chiefs on political-military policy. They were the decisive influence in the Far Eastern Agreement. It is surprising that Emerson does not even mention this agreement.

The essay on Truman by Wilber W. Hoare, Jr., is informative and incisive. His analyzing of Truman versus MacArthur is a valuable contribution without the polemics that characterize so much of the writing on this episode. Since MacArthur isolated himself in Tokyo from 1945 to 1950 while he was "pro-consul," Hoare observes that "When, in 1950, Truman tried, in a not unkindly way, to lay him in the Procrustean bed of a mere theater commander he could no longer fit it, and the President, attributing this to contumaciousness, lopped him off."

The concluding chapter on Eisenhower by May emphasizes how the President avoided decisions on Pentagon matters except to insist on holding down expenditures. May concludes that "he was a military hero who looked and acted like a Kiwanis Club president." *The Ultimate Decision* is a highly useful contribution. The authors analyze not only an important aspect of presidential power which has had only episodic treatment before but an aspect of the presidential office which will continue to expand as long as the cold war continues.

University of Chicago

WALTER JOHNSON

THE SERVANTS OF POWER: A HISTORY OF THE USE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY. By Loren Baritz. (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 273. \$4.50.)

BECAUSE this monograph deals only with the work of social scientists in the fields of industrial recruitment and personnel problems, the area now usually defined as industrial relations, some readers may be disappointed. Nothing is said, for example, of the extensive use of economists as analysts and forecasters or of the occasional employment of historians. But in concentrating on the industrial psychologists and sociologists, Mr. Baritz has opened an important area of twentieth-century history.

He had to cope with the usual problem of "social" history—organization of

data from highly diverse, fragmentary, and usually nonnarrative sources. In general such material offers few dramatic sequences or major characters. Baritz has been able to overcome these difficulties to a degree by emphasizing the experiments at the Hawthorne plant of Western Electric between the mid-twenties and early thirties as the major element in creating a science of industrial relations. The key discovery made by Elton Mayo and his associates was the importance of the small group in stimulating satisfaction and productive effort. Prior to this time the chief emphasis had been on testing for ability. The Hawthorne findings indicated that ability, beyond a necessary minimum, was much less important than motivation and that motivation could be stimulated by managerial policy.

In recording this history, Baritz develops the thesis that the social scientists hired by industry have permitted themselves to be used as technicians to accomplish the ends of management rather than exercising their independent judgment on such larger issues as "equalization of power between labor and management." Those who see no harm in reasonably contented nonunion labor adroitly controlled by management will doubtless think that Baritz presses his thesis too continuously. But one could not objectively write this history without noting that resistance to outside unions has been one of the principal reasons for hiring scientists in industrial relations.

No one outside the field of industrial relations could criticize Baritz' findings in detail. One error of fact is the statement that prices rose faster than wages in the 1920's. The wage-price ratio of 1929 was considerably more favorable to labor than that of 1920. Merely questionable is the contention that "propertyless managers, cannot be distinguished from the earlier owner-managers." To many who deal with both types there appear to be differences in behavior, but an adequate discussion of this problem would far exceed the space of a review. In all, Baritz has written a stimulating and important book in the history of both business and the social sciences.

University of Pennsylvania

THOMAS C. COCHRAN

ROBERT LIVINGSTON, 1654-1728, AND THE POLITICS OF COLONIAL NEW YORK. By *Lawrence H. Leder*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1961. Pp. xii, 306. \$6.00.)

LAWRENCE Leder's book, which he describes as "a biographical approach to the politics of provincial New York," is neither a complete biography of the founder of Livingston Manor nor a definitive history of New York politics during his lifetime. It is a study of "the interaction between the individual and the political community" in a time and place whose political history has been written, until now, mainly in terms of institutional relationships and class interests.

The author describes minutely, and for their own sake, the interrelations of

important people from the Albany traders to the king in council. Most of the *dramatis personae* are bound together in a vast skein of credit. Hence much of the book is about money: the provincial government's lack of it, the merchant-landowner's willingness to lend it, and his difficulties in recovering it. Indeed one could have wished for some abbreviation of the repetitious financial situations in which Livingston inevitably found himself. It is the personal and political constraints placed upon the merchants and landowners by the great financial risks they ran which provide the historical meat of the study, and the author gives a satisfying and well-written account of these constraints.

The gold mine which has contributed most to the book's wealth of originality is the collection of Livingston-Redmond manuscripts in the Roosevelt Library. These are cited on almost every page. Livingston speaks his mind and reveals his troubles in countless letters to his faithful Alida, who ran the vast manor while her husband courted successive governors in New York City. Leder has thoroughly combed many other document collections, both manuscript and published, and has skillfully woven a narrative from many scattered threads.

Some background is provided from Osgood, Andrews, and other authorities, but not enough to avoid a certain narrowness of perspective. We hear first of "the King," then of "the Queen," and once more of "the King," without explicit indication that Queen Anne has succeeded William III, and that she in turn has been succeeded by George I. The world-wide War of the Spanish Succession is simply "Queen Anne's War," a phrase surely better reserved for the American phase of that conflict, especially when, as in this case, it tends to obscure the scale of the British government's financial difficulties. We are told that many wished Lord Cornbury "were not so nearly related to our gracious Souveraign," a fleeting indication of the source of Cornbury's influence, but we have to deduce for ourselves that this avaricious buffoon, as a son of the Earl of Clarendon, must have been first cousin to Queen Anne through her mother, Anne Hyde.

Leder makes no attempt to enhance our interest in Robert Livingston by giving some description of the remarkable family of American aristocrats that he founded, or of the distinguished public services performed by so many of his descendants.

It would be unfair, however, to judge the book according to what its author has left out. Within the limits he has set for himself, he has greatly advanced our knowledge of Livingston's public career and has illuminated the intimate details of colonial politics in the half century after 1680.

Pacific Palisades, California

IAN C. C. GRAHAM

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK, 1691-1704. Volume I, INTRODUCTION; Volume II, THE MINUTES, ANNOTATED; Volume III, BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY,

GLOSSARY, SOURCES, INDEXES. By *Paul M. Hamlin* and *Charles E. Baker*. (New York: New-York Historical Society. 1959. Pp. xliii, 438; 386; 562. \$25.00 the set.)

WHEN the Supreme Court of New York was established in 1691, it was given the same jurisdiction as the English Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer. From it appeals lay to the governor and council, then to the king in council. Chancery and admiralty courts coexisted with it. Its minutes for the periods October 6, 1691–October 12, 1692, and August 11, 1701–October 14, 1704, with ample annotation, are published in the second volume of this admirable work. The third volume contains a biographical dictionary of the members of bench and bar whose names occur in the minutes, as well as a glossary of abbreviations and legal terms, a list of sources cited, a table of cases, an index of persons and places, and a subject index. The first volume is a copious introduction by the editors.

This admirable apparatus is useful since the "minutes" of a court contain only what we would call "docket entries," a record of the procedural steps taken in court by the attorneys, including motions to set a date for trials and arguments, and the times of adjournments. In other words, the most helpful legal documents for a student of the cases involved, that is to say the pleadings or other filed papers, the record of testimony and evidence taken, the briefs or written arguments of counsel, and the opinions of the court on the issues involved, are all missing; only the bare bones of the courtroom formalities have been noted by the clerk. It is desirable, therefore, to supplement this fragmentary record by historical data from other sources, and the editors have successfully done this.

Cases of particular interest in the years covered include the treason trials of Jacob Leisler and Nicholas Bayard (although these were before special courts under commissions of oyer and terminer), and the trial of the celebrated Presbyterian divine, Francis Makemie, for preaching without a license. Perhaps also the controversial claim of Lieutenant Governor Cadwallader Colden that the governor and council upon hearing an appeal could re-examine facts found by a jury had later repercussions upon American constitutional law. Vestiges of this conflict may have been in the minds of the New York convention which demanded a bill of rights when ratifying the United States Constitution. The New York proposal that all appeals in causes determinable according to the course of the common law be by writ of error and not otherwise may have been the sources of Madison's suggestion: "nor shall any fact triable by jury, according to the course of the common law, be otherwise re-examinable than may consist with the principles of common law." This became the basis of the Seventh Amendment, providing that "In suits at common law . . . no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law."

These handsome volumes, in conjunction with a publication of the New-York

Historical Society in 1912, cover the first fourteen years of the New York Supreme Court. The tribunal itself still flourishes as an important organ in the state's judicial system, though it may be helpful to remind nonlawyers that in spite of its name it is not the highest court in the state. That honor now falls to the Court of Appeals, which Cardozo graced for many years before succeeding Holmes in Washington.

Uniontown, Pennsylvania

EDWARD DUMBAULD

CHANCELLOR ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON OF NEW YORK, 1746-1813.

By *George Dangerfield*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1960. Pp. viii, 532. \$10.00.)

By itself the name Robert R. Livingston will probably not sell many copies of his biography. Nor will his title of chancellor, earned by a quarter century of service as chief judge in equity in New York, create much greater demand. The author's name and the memory of his glowing history, *The Era of Good Feelings*, will carry this volume to the historian's desk and to the easy chairs of the general reading public. In his lifetime, Livingston enjoyed many of fortune's favors. The final stroke, a century and a half after his death, is his biography, which stands at once as a memorial to the man and as a further testimonial to the author's previously won reputation for subtle insight couched in richly textured prose.

Livingston's interest as a subject lies partly in his variety. Scion of a lordly manorial family, he was successively revolutionist, jurist, Federalist, Antifederalist, ambassador to France and purchaser of Louisiana, pioneer in steamboating, and a leader in scientific agriculture. These Dangerfield handles with his customary skill and verve. But Livingston was more than a many-sided man. He was a great landed aristocrat who turned his back on the Federalist party to follow the lead of Jefferson. This improbable action marks him as a person to be "explained." Accordingly the author has a second and more difficult task of drawing from Livingston's background and thought those elements that enable his reader to understand this transformation.

"This book," says Dangerfield, "is primarily a study of aristocracy." Specifically he makes it a case study of an aristocrat who commits himself intellectually to the cause of popular government, but who never divests himself of an aversion to popular politics. As a consequence, he maintains, Livingston was politically both an unpopular and unreliable figure. This reading of Livingston's career is brought to the test of New York politics, of which this volume is a notable study. In his analysis, developed to fugal complexity, of the interplay between aristocratic and democratic elements, the author consciously avoids the "fallacy of making the life of Robert R. Livingston (1746-1813) a paradigm of aristocratic experience in New York." With the instinct of a true biographer,

Dangerfield suggests the subtleties of Livingston's relation to his times, one of the most exacting tasks in this kind of writing.

The long-overdue biography of Chancellor Livingston has been specifically requested by perceptive students. A figure of almost first rank, Livingston cannot be consigned to passing mention or footnote treatment. His papers, a "vast and imposing repository," pointedly suggest him as a subject. His active career spanned one of the most exciting half centuries in American history during which he had close association with men in the seats of power. Against this background, an intrinsically interesting personage is bound to make good copy for the biographer with patience to exhaust his papers and skill to draw his portrait.

As a biography this volume leaves reviewers almost no room for words other than praise. The tone is judicious, the judgments balanced. Livingston stands in the forefront even in scenes where Washington and Napoleon are present. The prodigious research exhibited in the volume never becomes a burden. This is the performance of a virtuoso.

University of Maryland

AUBREY C. LAND

ORIGIN OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: 1759-1766. By *Bernhard Knollenberg*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1960. Pp. viii, 486. \$8.50.)

Mr. Knollenberg has added another to the excellent series of books that he has done on the early history of the United States. The author traces the origin of the American Revolution to precisely the same set of circumstances and events that the revolutionaries themselves claimed: the mistakes, ineptitudes, and mismanagement of the British government in the period during and after the French and Indian War. It was not his purpose to set the Revolution in the broad context of a hundred and fifty years of colonial development, or in the framework of British imperial evolution, or indeed in the still larger complex of international imperialism. Rather it was his purpose to view much more narrowly and from a close inspection of the sources, almost from the eyes of the participants themselves, the unfolding events and mounting irritations from 1759 to 1775. Even within that limited period, the author restricts himself even more. He contends that the origin of the Revolution was in the policies adopted by the British government during the French and Indian War, and specifically during the period from 1759 to 1763. He lists as major irritants during those four years: the requirement by the Privy Council in 1759 that any bill passed by the legislature of Virginia repealing or amending an existing act must contain a clause suspending its operation until approved by the Privy Council in England, an order that was later extended to other colonies; the issuance in 1761 of general writs of assistance; the order by the Privy Council in 1761 forbidding governors of the royal colonies to issue judicial or other commissions not revocable at the pleasure of the King; and the activities from 1759 onward of the archbishop of Canterbury which further ex-

tended the control of the Church of England and looked to the establishment of an American bishopric.

In addition to dealing in detail with these issues, the volume also treats the more familiar material relating to the acts of 1763 and following. The author discounts the importance of the costs of defending America after 1763 as a reason for taxing the colonies. Nor does he believe that the English government seriously contemplated greatly extending the troops quartered in the colonies. He feels that the reason for taxing the colonies grew out of internal British problems and politics rather than out of the increased costs of defending the colonies. He also discounts the fact that George III was insane during any of these decisions, showing conclusively that the insanity came on much later. The major part of the work deals with the repeal of the Stamp Act, but concluding chapters carry the story of the emerging Revolution to its actual outbreak in 1775, a hasty summary which adds little to our knowledge or understanding of the period, but serves to complete the story for the general reader.

Knollenberg writes well, with an obvious love of his subject and of the period. The book is accurate in detail and meticulous in method. Appended notes are helpful in explaining the author's purpose, and the index is adequate.

University of Louisville

PHILIP DAVIDSON

THE POWER OF THE PURSE: A HISTORY OF AMERICAN PUBLIC FINANCE, 1776-1790. By *E. James Ferguson*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1961. Pp. xvi, 358. \$7.50.)

SHOULD the United States depend upon the states to pay long-term public debts, both state and federal, with irredeemable paper money issued by unrestrained state legislatures, or should Congress provide a uniform national currency, based on coin, in which such debts should be paid from federal taxes? Such was the question that dominated the financial history of the Union, 1776-1790, as it is related by Mr. Ferguson. Sixty-six years have passed since a comparable work on this subject was published: C. J. Bullock's *The Finances of the United States from 1775 to 1789*. . . . As Ferguson points out, intensive studies of American finance written between 1880 and 1900 expressed, for the most part, the aversion to currency inflation that reigned in "sound money" circles during the Populist era. That school condemned the states of 1775-1790 and their paper money expedients. Ferguson has presented the case for the states and has done so without special pleading. He has refrained from claiming too much for his contributions and has thereby given his book a distinctive character.

His volume has several outstanding features. It gives a good description of the army's practice of impressing supplies, relates in detail the war-born claims of the states on the Union and the efforts to adjust and settle them, offers an excellent

summary of the financial policies of Robert Morris as superintendent of finance, and contains the best available account of the speculation in public securities that raged between 1789 and 1791. A principal contribution sets forth the measures of the state governments which made provision for paying both state and federal debts, with the exception, among others, of those owed by the Union to foreign creditors. Two of Ferguson's points have special interest: speculation in public securities had no perceptible effect on the making of the Constitution; the Republican opposition to the Federalists began with Madison's proposal of 1790 to differentiate among the public creditors. Ferguson errs in saying that the Constitution gave Congress an unlimited taxing power and that in 1787 the people relinquished "what they had fought Britain to preserve." Is there no difference between a representative Congress and a Parliament in which Americans were not represented at all?

The "nationalists" of the 1780's sought not only to satisfy the public creditors but also to create a uniform national currency based on coin and to provide for investors a fund of dependable securities, at a time when life insurance companies and savings banks did not exist and when stocks of corporations were negligible. Both objectives called for the surrender by the states of their power over money. Ferguson has not emphasized this aspect of the nationalist cause.

Careful and thorough research, clear statements of fact, a judicial temper, and a mastery of confusing detail help to make Ferguson's book an outstanding one, the best study of national finances during the formative years of the Republic.

Cornell University

CURTIS P. NETTELS

THE RISING AMERICAN EMPIRE. By R. W. Van Alstyne. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 215. \$6.00.)

In 1956 Richard W. Van Alstyne of the University of Southern California delivered the Commonwealth Fund Lectures at University College, London. This book, basically a group of essays on American diplomatic history to the end of the nineteenth century with a brief concluding chapter added to bring the narrative into the twentieth century, is an outgrowth of those lectures. It is organized around the theme of the growth of the United States as a national state, or as the author prefers, an American Empire, and covers such topics as independence and the French alliance of 1778, foreign policy in the Federalist and Republican eras, manifest destiny, expansion into the Pacific, relations with Canada, the thrust into the Caribbean, and the lure of Asia. It seeks to analyze the process or "growth pattern," followed in the construction of the nation.

Since American history coincides with the rise of modern nationalism, the author believes that the American Empire provides an excellent introduction to the study of "international history." He sees in the United States "the first of the truly national states" and asserts that "with the consummation of the American

Revolution the Age of Nationalism is definitely under way." This touches his main theme, based on an approach that gives precedence to foreign over domestic affairs and reverses the procedure of treating national history from the viewpoint of a nation concerned with its own internal affairs and which only incidentally looks beyond its borders. In other words, he envisages his work as a history of the American national state, "rather than a history of the American people."

This history, nonetheless, is essentially a broad synthesis of material familiar to the diplomatic historian, even though some of it is based on original sources. It is mainly in the area of the author's own ideas and interpretations, therefore, that one must look for any noteworthy contribution. In this, the book is not disappointing. Van Alstyne points out gaps in existing scholarship, advances his own views vigorously, and does not hesitate to attack the findings of other historians. He is, for instance, dissatisfied with the existing state of scholarship on the diplomatic history of the American Revolution, a subject that he believes "merits drastic reconsideration and calls for new perspectives. . . ." Since this small volume allows him only slight opportunity for such reconsideration, he promises a fuller treatment in a future book.

Even though it cannot offer exploration in depth of certain critical ideas, this book is the fruit of many years of devoted scholarship in American diplomatic history and brings to focus the author's thinking on the challenging problem of nationalism's place in that history, a subject dealt with inadequately in the existing literature. Whether or not one would agree with his thinking, his ideas, such as that dealing with the conception of an American Empire or that which suggests that the Monroe Doctrine announced to the world that the United States was a great power and as such would determine the destiny of the Western Hemisphere, deserve consideration by those interested in the history of American diplomacy. It is well, therefore, that these provocative essays are now available to a larger audience than that which heard them, in a different form, in London five years ago.

University of Michigan

ALEXANDER DeCONDE

THE FARMER'S AGE: AGRICULTURE, 1815-1860. By *Paul W. Gates*. [The Economic History of the United States, Volume III.] (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1960. Pp. xviii, 460. \$6.00.)

THIS volume, which parallels George Taylor's excellent *The Transportation Revolution* in the same series, seeks, in little more than four hundred pages of text, to present the story of a forty-five-year period that witnessed tremendous technological changes in and vast expansion of American agriculture. Professor Gates has presented his material in nineteen chapters organized more along topical

than chronological lines. The first two chapters sketch agriculture in the United States, North and South, at the opening of the period. The next two chapters are devoted to the public land system. Despite his numerous strictures on the handling of the federal lands Gates concludes that "Notwithstanding all this malfunctioning of the public-land system followers of Jefferson's agrarian ideas might have been relatively satisfied with the way the system had worked throughout the ante-bellum period." The next eight chapters present the story of various kinds of farming: tobacco, flax, and hemp; rice and sugar; cotton; grain; prairie farming; livestock; dairying; hay, fruit, and vegetables. Five chapters are devoted to what might be called the forces of innovation: labor and farm machinery; the search for new species and new crops; government aid to farmers; the agricultural press; and the rise of agricultural education. Chapter xviii deals in a limited way with farming in the Far West (Oregon, Utah, and California). The concluding chapter discusses the economic problems of the farmer, notably problems of credit, markets, and marketing. The book reflects Gates's long concern with problems of land policy and his command of the vast monographic and other important source material. It is a triumph to be able to deal so well with so many aspects of this complex story.

In a book so packed with data drawn from such a large number of sources it is not to be expected that proofreaders will catch all errors. They did not, but the number of errors is small, although confusing LaSalle with LaCrosse on the end paper map is embarrassingly conspicuous.

Some economic historians will no doubt want to challenge the judgment that "northern farming was more important to the economic growth of the United States than the plantation economy of the South. . . ." All will be grateful for the fresh material on farm laborers in the North, but it is proper to question the accuracy of the analysis of the data on farm laborers taken from the 1860 census and referred to several times. It is entirely possible that most of the farmers without farms and the farm laborers were farmers' sons over the age of fourteen still residing at home. The author also seems to be of two minds on the question of farm laborers: on the one hand, he laments the labor shortage which was partly responsible for the land mining he deplores; on the other, he seems distressed to find such a relatively large number of farm laborers reported in the 1860 census. It seems to me that the material presented by Gates argues against accepting as valid his sweeping condemnation of American farmers: "Except in the Pennsylvania-German area, and with individual exceptions elsewhere, American farmers regarded their land as the means of quickly making a fortune through the rising land values which the progress of the community and their own individual improvements would give it." The agricultural colleges, for example, the beginnings of which he describes, could hardly be said to reflect the aspirations of a race of mere land miners. Despite these and other arguable points, Gates has given us an

enormously useful book for which all who are interested in United States economic history will be grateful.

University of Wisconsin

VERNON CARSTENSEN

CHARLES SUMNER AND THE COMING OF THE CIVIL WAR. By David Donald. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1960. Pp. xxii, 392, xxiv. \$6.75.)

DAVID Donald's volume on the life of Charles Sumner from 1811 to 1861 launches the first critical biography ever written of the Massachusetts Senator, and the first of any kind since 1910. A second volume for the latter part of Sumner's career is in preparation. Donald has used the Adams Papers and many new sources never previously brought to bear upon Sumner. His detailed, comprehensive, analytical treatment places his book at once among a select group of major scholarly biographies of men of the pre-Civil War era—works like Wiltse on Calhoun, Randall on Lincoln, and Bemis on J. Q. Adams.

The triumph of a successful treatment is all the more notable because of the difficulties that Sumner presents as the subject for a biography. Few figures in American public life have been more anomalous or more controversial. Sumner was an ideologue who seemed totally unqualified for political life, but was elected to the Senate in 1851 because of a fluke and re-elected in 1857 because he had been caned by Preston Brooks. As a senator, he had no concept whatever of the legislative function and treated the Senate only as a theater for the staging of set oratorical pieces, yet he became a nationally famous and influential leader in the Republican party. His penchant for vilifying anyone (including his friends) who disagreed with him, his arrogant self-righteousness, "his ponderous homilies, his ostentatious culture, . . . his unvarnished . . . insufferable egotism" made him one of the best-hated men in American history. Perhaps no figure would lend himself less readily to biographical impartiality.

The author demonstrated in his biography of William H. Herndon that he possesses a remarkable talent for discerning and disclosing what lies behind the distortions of human personality. This talent shows through brilliantly in his interpretation of Sumner. He achieves his result, moreover, not by flashy psychographic passages, but by telling his story with a fullness and a depth that unfolds its own meaning. No doubt there is more art in this than an old-fashioned exponent of scientific history would want to admit, but still Donald's use of extensive data furnishes a striking reminder of the value of such material as ballast in the ship of historical subjectivity. His account shows Sumner as a man with acute psychological inadequacies. These revealed themselves in the pathological intensity of his friendships (he accompanied the Longfellow on their wedding trip), in his indiscriminate and insatiable greediness for praise, and in the fears of ineffectuality which lay behind his façade of pompous rectitude. Donald shows all his shortcomings—his alienation from one friend after another, his shifty

expedients while professing himself a "slave of principle," his repellent qualities—and even subscribes to the affirmation that he was "a specimen of prolonged and morbid juvenility." Yet withal, the fullness of the context in which these features are presented takes something of the harshness away from the presentation. If it does not make Sumner attractive, it certainly makes him understandable, and it shows that very often the most defenselessly, poignantly human impulses lay behind his behavior even when it was least human in its manifestations.

Historians of the pre-Civil War period will welcome this biography's critical treatment of a number of disputed historical points: the nature of the coalition and the agreement by which Sumner was elected to the Senate; the nature of the malady which incapacitated him after the assault by Brooks (Donald proves by exhaustive analysis that it was psychosomatic, but that Sumner was certainly not deliberately shamming, and that it was cured only by a heroically painful treatment because Sumner psychologically needed the assurance that he had suffered in order to be cured); and the question of Sumner's reaction to secession (Donald rejects Laura White's contention that he was willing to accept disunion). One feature that may surprise many readers is the extent of the hostility to Sumner in Massachusetts and the bitterness of his quarrels with other antislavery men. In more ways than a brief review can state, this is an important and most rewarding biography.

Stanford University

DAVID M. POTTER

JOHN C. CALHOUN—OPPORTUNIST: A REAPPRAISAL. By *Gerald M. Capers*. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 275. \$6.75.)

In this challenging little book the interpretation of John C. Calhoun may be said to have come full cycle; for here reborn is the Machiavellian politician conjured up by Von Holst in the 1880's from the ashes of the tarnished warrior so reprobated by the South Carolina Unionists of half a century earlier. Calhoun, Professor Capers argues, was driven throughout his life by an all-consuming desire to be President of the United States, and in pursuit of this end he was willing to sacrifice friends, family, and principles—everything, indeed, save only the feudal but somehow infinitely precious southern way of life. In support of this thesis the accepted facts of Calhoun's career are retold, sometimes with fresh insight, occasionally with less than candor, but in general with scrupulous accuracy.

The primary incidents of Calhoun's life may be fitted easily into such a mold, as indeed may the lives of most public men; for who is to say what truly motivates votes, friendships, or political alliances? There are always contemporary insinuations of rascality as well as claims to the most disinterested patriotism. Capers has no doubts. Calhoun's choice of Yale and the Litchfield Law School, his marriage to a low-country heiress, his brief career in the state legislature, and his election to Congress all appear as calculated steps on the way to realizing an

ambition that, in him, is presented as in some obscure way iniquitous. Similarly motivated was the young Carolinian's championship of the War of 1812 and of the nationalistic economic program that followed. The thesis is easier to defend when we come to the Missouri Compromise and Calhoun's premature candidacy late in 1821, to his support of Jackson against Adams, and his devious course on the tariff, where failure may be conveniently blamed upon ineptitude.

The still-controversial nullification episode offers positive evidence on both sides. Take the tariff compromise of 1833, for example. Calhoun's rejection of the Verplanck bill (with its obviously greater measure of free trade) on the ground that the manufacturers should not be asked to sacrifice so much so fast, was certainly the action of a candidate, but it was also the action of a man who had no other choice. Calhoun's flirtation with the Whigs, his return to the Democracy, his abortive bid for the presidency in 1844, his role in the annexation of Texas, and his final efforts for compromise on the sectional issue each adds its touch to the old portrait of a scheming and hypocritical politician who professed his attachment to the Union even while he devised and propagated the doctrine that would justify its destruction. It is the portrait of a self-deluded man whose intellect, as Adams said, was pander to his will, a man whose uncontrolled ambition drove him into the very blunders that would forever bar his way to the office he so ardently desired.

Despite passages in which Capers appears to fall momentarily under Calhoun's spell, the book on the whole is cynical, depicting a world in which every action, not of Calhoun alone but of all the public figures of the time, was selfishly inspired. Not one of the characters in this abbreviated drama has any real interest in the welfare of the country, but only in his own prospects of controlling it. One has only to agree with Thomas Hobbes that all men are moved by love of gain or love of glory, and the pieces fall neatly into place.

Washington, D. C.

CHARLES M. WILTSE

THE REAL ABRAHAM LINCOLN: A COMPLETE ONE VOLUME HISTORY OF HIS LIFE AND TIMES. By *Reinhard H. Luthin*. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1960. Pp. xviii, 778. \$10.00.)

For nearly a decade Benjamin P. Thomas' biography of Abraham Lincoln has stood alone as a one-volume synthesis of the best Lincoln scholarship. Now Reinhard H. Luthin places beside it a book that is equally sound, longer and fuller in detail, but less successful as a literary achievement. It is unfortunate that a work resting upon extensive and painstaking research should be blemished by faulty sentence structure, violation of idiom, inelegant variation, and other symptoms of slipshod writing. Lincoln has been elevated, Luthin writes, to "near-deistic loftiness." He acquired a "vote-garnering sobriquet" and "waged" a "race" for the White House. He believed that in the South "there existed more pro-Union senti-

ment than there actually was, or greater secessionist strength than he thought possible." He referred "laudibly but cautiously" to Sherman's "shambles-inflicting Georgia march." His Second Inaugural Address was "free from tawdry partisanship and lack of vindictiveness." Douglas engaged in "excitable verbal warfare," and at the Democratic Convention in 1860, "intraparty discord crashed to a fatal crisis." In addition, the reader of *The Real Abraham Lincoln* will find quotations and minor facts needlessly repeated, stock phrases worn thin with use, and occasional typographical errors. Since Luthin at his best writes clear, vigorous prose, one can only conclude that the book was hurried into print without the final revising and careful editing that it needed.

Despite these and other defects, the Luthin book does accomplish its stated purpose of presenting Lincoln "in a fact-filled single volume, from his birth to his burial." The author has ranged over a vast amount of material and selected his data with skill, carefully distinguishing proven fact from credible tradition, and both from dubious legend. There are, to be sure, some minor errors and a few curious omissions: Lincoln travels up the Mississippi on a flatboat; Franklin Pierce occupies the presidency in 1847; Ben Butler uses dynamite before it has been invented; the important *Trent* affair receives no mention. But on the whole, Luthin has covered the ground thoroughly and accurately. Furthermore, his voluminous notes, filling seventy-seven pages at the back of the book, constitute an invaluable guide to Lincoln literature. The index is inadequate, however, for a work that will be placed on many reference shelves.

The promise of the title is fulfilled only in a negative way. Slashing away impatiently at the tangle of folklore and eulogy, Luthin succeeds in proving that Lincoln was human and fallible, but he has not penetrated the mystery of the man's greatness. Character sketches in the book are more vivid than profound, and there is no sustained effort to analyze Lincoln's thought, his leadership, or his historical influence. Luthin's "real" Lincoln is in the main just a partly debunked Lincoln. Some of the earlier chapters are almost hostile. Luthin has little sympathy for the antislavery movement and pictures Lincoln as a conservative opportunist who was drawn into the Republican party by ambition rather than principle. Even the debates with Douglas, we are told, revealed primarily a "crass oratorical maneuverer for votes"; indeed, "up to his election as President in 1860 he had left no record of achievement, except the quest for office." Luthin also holds Lincoln responsible in no small degree for the failure of compromise in 1860-1861, insisting that his silence as President-elect was a "colossal mistake" and a "fatal one." But he has increasing admiration for the wartime leader, not as a military genius but as a conservative bulwark against the antislavery extremists in Congress. These and other opinions scattered through the book are usually defensible and yet seldom new. There are times, in fact, when Luthin seems to ignore the latest scholarship even while citing it.

In summary, *The Real Abraham Lincoln* lacks literary grace and offers little

fresh interpretation, but as a narrative of the facts it will no doubt prove to be more useful than any other single volume.

Stanford University

D. E. FEHRENBACHER

THE CRUSADE AGAINST SLAVERY, 1830-1860. By *Louis Filler*. [The New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1960. Pp. xvii, 318. \$5.00.)

THE word "slavery" always carries a heavy emotional charge. It had to do with moral values in Civil War days, and ever after it has symbolized America's dedication to democratic principles. As a result, it has been nearly impossible for the scholar to evaluate the institution or the crusade against it objectively. All questions and all answers have become stereotyped. The terms "good" and "bad" alone apply.

The present volume illustrates this point. The author accepts, without raising a single question, all the traditional assumptions regarding slavery, the South, and the abolitionists. He enlists in the crusade and sees abolition as "the central hub of reform" in an era of intense ferment of all kinds. In organization and content he follows the usual pattern which begins with "abolition before Garrison" and ends with "Kansas and . . . the irrepressible conflict." Within these limits, his researches have been exhaustive and his contribution considerable. He adds new names and new details to the usual story. He takes sharp issue with Gilbert Barnes as to whether "the moral crusade had done its work by 1839," and as to the relative importance of Theodore Weld and William Lloyd Garrison. He stands firmly behind Garrison as the one man who kept the moral issue before the public to the very end. He finds a larger place in the movement for such figures as Myron Holley, Le Roy Sutherland, Henry C. Wright, the Negro leaders, and the women. He rightly sees antislavery as related to the revivals and to other reforms. He is probably right in his belief that Garrison's attitudes differed from those of others only in degree. In fact, he has produced a volume that will serve as a good reference work for anyone seeking information regarding individuals and groups connected with the antislavery crusade.

What he has not done is to tell us why the crusade against an institution that had been around so long should suddenly have "burst upon the public in the 1830's." Filler sees nothing in the immediate environment or in the personal experiences of the abolitionist that caused him to center his efforts on an institution with which he had little or no personal contact. The author's constant use of the term "the South" as a region where everyone thought alike raises the question as to whether it is possible to understand a reform movement without a sound knowledge of the thing to be reformed and those connected with it. Nor has Filler

explained why the Republican party, which was not exactly abolitionist, ultimately took over the practical task of abolishing slavery.

University of Chicago

AVERY CRAVEN

WHY THE NORTH WON THE CIVIL WAR. By *Richard N. Current et al.*
Edited by *David Donald*. ([Baton Rouge:] Louisiana State University Press.
1960. Pp. xv, 128. \$2.95.)

IN 1957, as a part of the celebration of the 125th anniversary of Gettysburg College, the late Professor Robert Fortenbaugh suggested a three-day conference in which leading authorities would discuss various aspects of the Civil War. The resounding success of that conference, under the direction of Professor Allan Nevins of Columbia University, led to its becoming an annual affair. This book is the product of the second conference.

It opens with Richard N. Current's emphatic answer to the question posed by the title. After balancing the traditional southern advantages of defensive position and psychology, terrain, and an outdoor and agriculturally self-sufficient people against traditional handicaps and blunders, Current traces the fundamental basis of victory to a northern economic superiority so great that it could have been dissipated only by most improbable military or diplomatic events. Next T. Harry Williams evaluates the influence on both northern and southern commanders of Antoine Henri Jomini's writings, and those of his West Point advocate, Dennis Hart Mahan, stressing position warfare and a rapid tactical offensive. Professor Williams believes that circumstances led the North to emphasize unwisely the first of these principles and the South to employ the second brilliantly in the earlier part of the war. Eventually the North advanced to truer military principles beyond Jomini and won.

In the third essay Norman Graebner holds that the basic reason that England decided not to intervene in the war was simply that to have done so would have violated too deeply the general principle of nonintervention to which she had become committed. David Donald maintains that an excess of democracy (in Tocqueville's sense of obstinate individualism and leveling tendencies) killed the Confederacy. David M. Potter holds that defective southern policies with reference to taxation, cotton, impressment of supplies, use of slave labor, and, more specifically, the deficiencies of President Davis as a civil, popular, and military leader turned the balance. Throughout the conflict Davis, a parvenu among the old-line aristocrats, was so intent upon justifying a lost cause in advance that he could never give proper attention to making it a winning one.

Each of these essays repays the reader. Differing in their viewpoints, none is irreconcilable with the others. One may question whether neglect of the factor that offered the Confederacy its only real hope in the last half of the war, that of

northern morale and opinion, is not *Hamlet* without Hamlet. And, since the appearance of the study by Warren W. Hassler, Jr. (a book that gave me a bad three days as it forced a reconsideration of long-held assumptions), is anyone justified in dismissing General McClellan in quite so cavalier a fashion as one or two of the present writers do, and, indeed, as Lincoln did nearly a century ago?

George Washington University

WOOD GRAY

LOUIS AGASSIZ: A LIFE IN SCIENCE. By *Edward Lurie*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 449. \$7.50.)

UNTIL recently we have been chiefly dependent for knowledge of Agassiz' life upon two books issued at the close of the nineteenth century, one by his American wife Elizabeth Cary Agassiz (the foundress of Radcliffe) and the other by his disciple Jules Marcou. The situation has now been transformed by the appearance of a frankly anecdotal combined biography of Louis and Elizabeth Agassiz by Louise Hall Tharp, and the present work, which from its scale, persuasive interpretation, and exhaustive study of the manuscript sources deserves to be called definitive. It forms a worthy counterpart to the book with which it will inevitably be compared—Professor Dupree's recent, distinguished life of Asa Gray. The only serious criticism that can be made of Professor Lurie's book is that it might have been somewhat condensed without any real loss of substance.

Lurie's account of Agassiz is not likely to alter in any profound way the accepted view of a man who had accomplished his principal researches before coming to America, here performed magisterial labors in organizing and inspiring the scientific community, and then found himself locked in a close scholarly combat with the Darwinians that he was no longer willing or able to sustain to his credit. If the large outlines of Agassiz' career remain as before, Lurie gives us much greater detail at every point. In choosing the best things in the book, one might well fix upon the skillful exposition of how far Agassiz succumbed to *Naturphilosophie*, the incredible story of his undisguised and unresented depredations upon the Boston pocketbook by which he founded and sustained his enduring monument, the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard, and the account (which owes much to Dupree) of Agassiz' friends the "Lazzaroni," the Cambridge club with affiliations in Washington which undertook to dominate the scientific life of the country and incidentally brought into being the National Academy of Sciences. The author brings out the inevitable resentment of the leading American scientists who were excluded from the councils of the Lazzaroni, above all Asa Gray and James Dwight Dana, even before Agassiz embarked upon his perilous confrontation with Darwin. Dana was also gravely offended by Agassiz' brazen defense of a book by Jules Marcou, which he frankly admitted that he had never read. Another ingredient in an explosive situation was Agassiz' ir-

remediable incapacity for working on terms of equality with the young scholars whom he successively drew into his circle, but could seldom credit with having attained sufficient maturity to become independent of himself. The upshot was that when Agassiz mounted his attack upon Darwinism, he was already deeply suspect in the eyes of his peers as a man who regarded new men and new ideas as a personal affront and direct criticism of himself as sacrilegious. The force of his assault was weakened in the eyes of scientists, though not of the general public. It is precisely a part of Lurie's argument that Agassiz had begun to play by preference to an audience of *littérateurs* like Longfellow and Lowell and even to publish the only account of some of his later scientific doctrines in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

The least familiar issues treated are the straightforward account of the unfounded charges brought against Agassiz early in his Boston days of having improper relations with a serving girl and the evidence Lurie cites to show that at the end of his life Agassiz, though by no means accepting evolution, was trying heroically to confront the subject as a matter to be resolved by dispassionate empirical investigation. If he had been capable of recovering this characteristic posture of his youth, the last years of his life would have been less stormy.

Harvard University

DONALD FLEMING

HENRY ADAMS AND BROOKS ADAMS: THE EDUCATION OF TWO AMERICAN HISTORIANS. By *Timothy Paul Donovan*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1961. Pp. xi, 220. \$4.00.)

IN the whole field of American historiography it is hardly possible to name two more famous and more interesting historians than Henry and Brooks Adams. A thorough study of the works and the philosophies of these two brothers has long been overdue. Mr. Donovan has attempted to fill this need, although he does not bring to his study all the works involved (for instance Henry Adams' *Gallatin* and to a large extent his *Education*), and he assumes too much knowledge on the part of his reader regarding the personalities of the two men. The author does make clear, however, what kind of historians these two men were and where they rank in importance. He traces the long search made by each to find a philosophy of history, their efforts to make a science of history, their discarding of "the American dream," and finally evaluates their influence on American history.

Donovan states that among the precepts formulated by great-grandfather John Adams which were accepted by "every succeeding member of the family," were: a rational instead of an emotional approach to public issues, an educated leadership, and continual national self-analysis. Therefore, continues the author, it was John Quincy Adams' failure in the face of Jackson's victory in 1832 that "first caused both Henry and Brooks to survey the American past with skepticism and

to glance at the future with apprehension." Since, later in the book, the author finds that Brooks "never became as pessimistic about the future as Henry," that Henry "arrived on an answer which was as devoid of hope for man as it was for a universe doomed to eternal sterility," and that Henry "was by inheritance and inclination a pessimist," it is hardly convincing to accept John Quincy Adams' failure as the "cause" of his grandsons' skeptical view of America's past. Nor can the deep concern that Henry and Brooks had for the future be called a "glance." In fact Donovan finds later in his book that in 1866 Henry had "supreme confidence in the ability of America [until] . . . the Grant era had undermined his previous equanimity." Also we find this statement: "Brooks Adams was as romantic as his brother Henry." Since a romantic and a pessimist are usually two quite different people, the origin and the exact nature of Henry's pessimism, or even skepticism, are unclear.

In discussing Henry's search for a law of history, the author says that his thinking was influenced by relativism, Darwinism, and religion. That of Brooks was influenced by economics, Darwinism, and religion. Brooks, who was a dogmatist and who liked "to assume the truth of an hypothesis before submitting it to the test of facts," accepted all three influences attributed to him, and they became the principal means through which he made his contribution. Henry's searching, however, forced him to reject all three of his. The explanation, claims Donovan, lies in the absence of self-doubt in Brooks and the continual presence of it in Henry.

There is a very elaborate process of summing up in this volume which, because it is repeated in various ways throughout the book, not only makes the concluding chapter vague and unimpressive, but likewise makes the whole book discursive. One of the most interesting summarizing statements about Henry, for example, occurs on page thirty-nine, where we learn that Henry's recognition that history was paradox and chaos "not only saturated his own philosophy with pessimism but also discouraged others from attempting to solve the enigma of Clio with a single scheme."

Tarrytown, New York

HAROLD DEAN CATER

PIONEER: A HISTORY OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, 1874-1889. By *Hugh Hawkins*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 368. \$6.50.)

DR. Hawkins is one of many scholars who are scrutinizing the legendary figures of the academic world. By what warrant, these writers ask, can it be claimed that the heroes and their works were truly great? Perhaps the foundations of some long-standing reputations will be sapped by current research: the case of

Mark Hopkins' log comes to mind. And yet other reputations may not be diminished, however much they may be altered as careful documentation takes the place of fossilized reminiscence in the history of higher education. This is true of Hawkins' sober but stimulating revisionism:

That Gilman was not as single-eyed in his interest in graduate education and research as tradition pictures him, that he bent with the wind of public opinion, that he placed the effect of higher studies on the students over their contribution to the advancement of knowledge, should not lessen his stature. Much of his importance and most of his success came because his aims were plural, his method pragmatic, and his values centered in the living individual.

This book, which won the Moses Coit Tyler Prize in American Intellectual History, is neither a biography, although Gilman appears constantly, nor the compendious history of an institution, although Johns Hopkins is the scene of action for nearly every page. What interested the author is the concatenation around one person and within one university of a number of men, ideas, and forces which take their meaning from their relevance to the question of the "inner life" that academic communities come to possess. This life at Hopkins was refreshingly different from a mere flux of parochial affairs and different also from an existence of Arcadian innocence. The dawn wherein Josiah Royce found it bliss to be alive was a time of improvisations and compromises that have no place in the idealized university of Veblenite purists.

Hawkins stops far short of the end of Gilman's administration. In 1889 the university reached a series of turning points, including a severe financial crisis. Also by that year it had established itself as a company of scholars and had done its most important pioneering. Soon afterward Hopkins ceased to be strikingly distinctive. Clearly its first age was not golden just because of its means, which were not fabulous, its faculty, which was not uniformly pre-eminent in scholarship, or its offering of Ph.D. degrees, which was not unique. In this connection, the author might have stressed the fact that Yale granted the degree in 1861. The Hopkins' doctorate was not a bolt from the blue—and one from the Blue (to borrow President Lowell's witticism) only in the sense that Gilman picked up allegro a theme that his own college had introduced pianissimo. It may be that this difference in style had much to do with Hopkins' distinction.

Although this history does not ignore other institutions, it does not set its subject into the full context of university reform. Perhaps, as Hawkins remarks, Charles W. Eliot was author of the worst prediction of educational history when he told the Hopkins' trustees that the post-graduate course was a distant matter for them. But when he said that no educational institution could cut loose from the foundations of its community, he accurately (if inadvertently) diagnosed a highly significant malady of new universities. At Hopkins and elsewhere, a dangerous anemia developed from the initial lack of a sufficient constituency. Eliot's

mistake may be less a sign of his fallibility as a prophet than a clue to the magnitude of the risk that put Gilman's capacity as a statesman to the test.

University of Chicago

RICHARD J. STORR

CONSERVATIVE CRISIS AND THE RULE OF LAW: ATTITUDES OF BAR AND BENCH, 1887-1895. By *Arnold M. Paul*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association. 1960. Pp. viii, 256. \$4.75.)

THE basic thesis of this discerning and well-written monograph is that a deep intellectual crisis convulsed the American legal profession between 1887 and 1895 which brought about the emergence in bench and bar and above all on the Supreme Court of "a form of neo-Federalism, a recrudescence of a traditional conservatism fearful of restless majorities upsetting the social order and the rights of property." The crisis in the legal profession was of course only one manifestation of a more general convulsion in the American social and political order of the day, that growing out of the vast shifts in the status of property and wealth produced by the Industrial Revolution, the enormous increase in the importance of corporate property, and the rise of the great trusts to positions of inordinate economic and political power. By 1895 the Supreme Court and the legal profession generally, after a sharp intellectual struggle, had been captured completely by conservative neo-Federalism. "Traditional legal conservatism, forced to choose between *traditionalism* and *conservatism*—ironic choice—had chosen the latter."

Large portions of this story have, of course, been well told before, in the many learned monographs of E. S. Corwin, E. R. H. Seligman, Walton Hamilton, H. J. Graham, Benjamin R. Twiss, and many others. The great merit of the present work, a Beveridge prize volume of the American Historical Association, lies in its "integrating" quality, the fine way in which it pulls together the material on due process of law, labor injunctions, and the income tax cases as parts of a single intellectual and legal crisis that had its final outcome in the conservative revolution of 1895. There is originality, also, in the fine fashion in which the author has integrated the evolving attitudes of the legal profession, as portrayed by bar association speeches, editorial commentary in legal journals, and the like, with the stream of opinions coming from state and federal courts. The conservative reaction of the 1890's in the Supreme Court is thus revealed far more effectively than ever before as a reflection of a more general philosophic crisis that gripped the legal profession at large.

Like most other recent analysts, Paul thinks that the consequences of "neo-Federalism" were altogether unfortunate. The Supreme Court, as a result, not only succeeded in "exaggerating its power beyond proportion in the period 1890-1937" and in "confusing its proper role in the American scheme of government"; it also helped "in the perpetuation of the inequalities that were accompanying the

growth of American industrialism." This in turn probably "contributed to the deterioration of economic resiliency precedent to the Great Depression." It is a harsh judgment, but one with which most recent scholars will agree.

Wayne State University

ALFRED H. KELLY

THE PROTESTANT SEARCH FOR POLITICAL REALISM, 1919-1941.

By *Donald B. Meyer*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960. Pp. x, 482. \$6.75.)

For American Protestantism the years 1919-1941 may be considered the hey-day of the American social gospel. Yet they were more a period of self-examination than a time for development; there was more searching than finding. Meyer's volume on the Protestant search for political realism in these years describes the period as one in which "social gospel history became much more than a series of attempts to put religion into social practice. It was the record of a crisis in the religion itself. Every step in the search for political translation meant a deepening of self-consciousness about the nature of the original idealism. By 1934 the decisive issue was no longer how to bring the ideal to reality, but whether the old idealism was truly Protestant, truly Christian, indeed truly religious."

Meyer does not seem to have dealt adequately with either the rise of the social gospel or its response to the increasing urbanism and industrialization in the United States. Furthermore, he does little to dispel the gloom and obscurity that apparently settled around the social gospel. Nor can one be satisfied with the clarity of identification and definition of "political reality" itself. Meyer apparently believes that religious history cannot be written and studied in isolation from the rest of the world. Yet it is not quite clear whether he is agreeing with Emil Brunner's statement that "the individual Christian cannot be separated from the community nor the community from the individual."

Perhaps what is disturbing is the implication that American Protestantism is bankrupt or that it is incapable any longer of stirring, reaching, or getting inside the "living space" of American Protestants. The author describes the difficulties encountered by the social gospelers in coming to grips with effective social action, and the abortive efforts of these passionate believers in the power of Christian love and scientific progress to establish a reformed Kingdom of God. Their difficulties mounted as they faced two world wars; they drifted off into pacifism, isolationism, and Communism, until their search culminated in the political realism of Reinhold Niebuhr with its return to St. Augustine and the reformers. These intellectual social reformers broke into many splinter groups, trying to identify clearly for themselves their Christian ideals in contrast to their American viewpoints.

The social gospel preachers whom the author treats at length are Washington Gladden, Walter Rauschenbusch, and, above all, Reinhold Niebuhr. Were they,

as the author seems to say, a thin, bright group running through two or three decades, illumined by the Lord's grace, while all around them was dark? He makes a convincing case for the excitement these men brought to their search for political reality, an intellectual excitement that was also strongly emotional. His case for the results of their search is not as convincing.

What, for example, did Protestantism stand for in this era in the United States which became increasingly a complex of urban civilization? It is rather begging the question to stress, as Meyer does, that American Protestantism grew up in a rural environment. Certainly, if the Protestant ethic described in this period is capable of translation into direct social or political action, it should apply in the development of urbanization and its concomitant problems. It is, of course, unfair to castigate the author for the failures of his subjects.

There is an extensive and admiring treatment of Niebuhr, who is considered the pre-eminent liberal Protestant minister exploring the existing tensions between Protestant theology and contemporary society and suggesting possible applications of Protestant ethics in social action. Niebuhr apparently shares Sir Lester B. Pearson's views that tensions when they are not convulsions can be and often are a stimulus. The problem is to control and direct such tensions into the right channels. One would wish that the author had seen fit to include reference to Kenneth Thompson's excellent study, *Political Realism and the Crisis of World Politics*, which calls for a more pragmatic approach to our predicament than Niebuhr has taken.

Sweet Briar College

ANNE PANNELL

THE LEAN YEARS: A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN WORKER, 1920-1933. By *Irving Bernstein*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1960. Pp. xi, 577. \$7.00.)

PROFESSOR Bernstein's preface leads the reader to expect more than he gets from this generally valuable history of the American workingman. Himself a labor economist, the author writes that he has attempted to break the labor economists' tradition of writing trade-union and labor market history. (He also breaks from the usual labor economist's mold by writing with a real flair instead of producing the dismal pretentious prose, comparable to an army technical manual, that makes reading most books in this field a dreary chore.) He writes that the book "begins with the worker rather than the trade union." This the book does, and that is all to the good. But it falls short of being the political, social, and cultural history of the workingman that it promises to be.

The attempt is completely laudable, but it fails because it lacks a conceptual tool or tools that could provide a new way of looking at developments or of reducing a vast amount of diffuse information to coherence. Bernstein has broken

with the labor economists only to employ the historians' conventional techniques, and these techniques have not got the historians very far in writing the history of workingmen. Perhaps the author's use of folk songs is not conventional, but neither is it very illuminating. Bernstein is to be congratulated for trying, but not condemned for failing. For no one else has successfully solved the problem of writing a meaningful history of such a vast and diverse class of people.

This book is mostly narrative, based upon the usual kinds of sources, including manuscript collections. The subjects considered include trade-union struggles, mass working-class movements such as the Bonus Army and local self-help relief organizations, and, to a surprising extent, government policies that affected the workingman's welfare. Many of the chapters differ little in their subject matter from those that might appear in any general history of the period. The chapter on the Bonus Army compares favorably with the younger Schlesinger's treatment in *The Crisis of the Old Order*; it is based upon the Pelham D. Glassford papers. Bernstein can write admirable analysis as well as narrative. He shows this in his third chapter, an unusually perceptive dissection of employer attitudes toward labor in the years of prosperity. A little more than one half of the book deals with the last three years of the period.

Bernstein plans a second book for the years 1933 to 1941. It will be a useful addition if it follows the plan of this volume, and will be a book of great importance if it achieves the goals the author sought in this one.

University of Wisconsin

DAVID A. SHANNON

THE STORY OF CANADA. By *Donald Creighton*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1960. Pp. 291. \$5.00.)

THE FOUNDING OF CANADA: BEGINNINGS TO 1815. By *Stanley B. Ryerson*. (Toronto: Progress Books. 1960. Pp. xi, 340. Cloth \$5.00, paper \$3.00.)

THESE two volumes form a striking contrast in style, research methods, and point of view. Donald Creighton is widely regarded as Canada's most distinguished historian. He is one of the few true stylists writing in English in Canada today, and his conception of good prose clearly and happily borrows much from Francis Parkman, although his chief interest is in the post-Conquest (or Cession) period. He has engaged in extensive original research in the past, having authored, among many books, a two-volume biography of Canada's leading founding father, John A. Macdonald, and an epochal study of the commercial empire of the St. Lawrence. His point of view is that of a self-conscious and highly articulate conservative who is perfectly prepared, as he does in this latest book, to conclude with a vigorous account of the Progressive-Conservative election victory of March 1958 which clearly implies that only with such a victory has the First Elizabethan

Age (for Canada did not experience the earlier age of Elizabeth I) truly opened for Canada.

Stanley B. Ryerson has devoted many years to preparing a Marxist interpretation of Canadian history. In previous books, especially on the significance of the events of 1837 for Canadians, he has prepared the way for two volumes on the establishment of Canada to 1871, the present book carrying the account to 1815. No stylist, given to one sentence paragraphs, nontopic sentences, and unsupported assertions, Ryerson apparently feels that a people's history must be written in the style of the people—and he probably is correct. While the book contains very little original research, and a not unexpected quota of references to the works of Marx, Lenin, Engels, and Feuerbach, Ryerson has read extensively in printed sources, including lesser known books published in Russia, Germany, and Chile. In particular, a chapter on Indian and Negro slavery in Canada, a subject seldom discussed in survey histories, even of this length, would be instructive reading for all Canadians, and American historians might find his chapters on the War of 1812, with his conclusion that the United States won the peace that followed, of interest.

On balance Ryerson's book is a poor one, but not because it is an attempt "to indicate possible lines of approach to a Marxist interpretation of Canadian history," to defend a point of view. I would like to see a full-scale, well-argued Marxist work take its place in Canadian historiography, although I would not subscribe to it, for all such efforts, even if misleading, stimulate further inquiry. This is a poor book because it argues for monocausations, is heavily sentimental, basically unoriginal (perhaps this is inevitable in any historical work in which theory precedes research), and uninspired. In his foreword Ryerson refers to the important economic and social interpretations of Canadian history worked out by H. A. Innis and added to by Hugh Aitken and S. D. Clark. But the "sociology of social change" to which Clark refers surely is not the "analysis of material social relations" of which Lenin wrote.

Donald Creighton, on the other hand, has written a superb book and held to his own point of view just as tenaciously. He has written general histories of Canada before, including his highly regarded *Dominion of the North*. But he has never written quite so well in such comparatively brief span. Teachers of Commonwealth courses who have wanted to find a short but comprehensive survey of Canadian history, and who have found the texts by McInnis, Brebner, or Careless too long or too detailed, or those by Graham or Glazebrook too short, now have the ideal book. Creighton's *Story of Canada* is one of a series that includes volumes on England, Ireland, Wales, Australia, and South Africa. I have read four of the previous five, and Creighton's work is by far the most outstanding contribution to the series.

Yale University

ROBIN W. WINKS

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES: THE CIVIL WAR YEARS. By Robin W. Winks. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1960. Pp. xviii, 430. \$6.50.)

THIS is an excellent and comprehensive treatment of an important subject, a book that will serve as a source of information and reference for all future writers on the relations between the United States and the British Empire. The story of the Civil War years in Canada is made up of an unbelievably large number of small incidents caused by small people. This makes the reading a bit cumbersome at times, but the narrative of the *Trent* affair and the St. Albans raid is written well and with much spirit. In some parts of the story the intricacies of international and maritime law tend to obscure the more dramatic side of the narrative just as they obscured the rights and wrongs of the issues involved to contemporary observers.

One reason why the story is so long and intricate is that the majority of Canadians and Americans were almost totally ignorant not only of international law but of international good manners. This was true of many minor officials as well as of the common man in both countries. The United States consul at Montreal, Joshua Giddings, seems to have committed almost every *faux pas* possible for a quasi diplomat. The judge who passed on the case of the St. Albans raiders, a French Canadian in Montreal, won the unqualified disapproval of higher authorities and many responsible citizens of Montreal by releasing them instead of allowing them to be extradited to the United States. The man who comes out best in the long story of misunderstandings and deliberate insults is Lord Monck, the Governor-General of Canada, who kept a level head through a series of crises. In the end he even learned to bypass the various formalities of dealing through the Colonial Office or the British ambassador in Washington and wrote directly to Secretary Seward.

Seward, himself, had to learn from experience. In the first year of war Lincoln had to restrain him from provoking war with England in order to ease the strain of internecine conflict at home. After he had accepted Lincoln's sensible view that one war at a time was enough, he displayed the same ability and patience as Lord Monck in fending off possible explosions of popular wrath on both sides. He even avoided any angry protests over the arrest of Consul Giddings in 1864 after the latter had allowed himself to be made the dupe in a totally unjustifiable intrigue.

The author believes that contrary to accepted tradition, British North Americans were on the whole pro-South during the greater part of the war. He shows that any sympathy they were inclined to feel in the beginning for the North because of the universal dislike of slavery was very largely dissipated by the delay in issuing the Emancipation Proclamation. In the introduction to his volume he also brings out an even more fundamental reason for their antinorthern sympathies—the perennial fear of Yankee aggression, a fear that was inherited by the

northern rather than the southern states during the war. The only possible serious criticism of the volume is that this introductory section might be made somewhat longer and the particulars of certain incidents of the thirties and forties might be summarized by references to A. B. Corey, *Crisis of 1830 to 1842 in Canadian-American Relations*, and Gustav Lanctôt, *Les Canadiens Français et leurs Voisins du Sud*, as well as to the various brief treatments of the so-called "Aroostook War" between New Brunswick and the state of Maine in 1839. One point which perhaps needs to be brought out is that the feelings of British subjects living north of the border fluctuated more than Winks has implied between 1800 and 1860. While it was true that the British government was never easy about the situation in America after the outbreak of war in 1812, there were ups and downs in the feelings of British subjects on this side of the Atlantic. This is a very minor criticism, however, of a book that fulfills remarkably well the task the author has set for himself.

Bryn Mawr College

HELEN MANNING

★ ★ ★ *Other Recent Publications* ★ ★ ★

BOOKS

General

HISTORY AS A SOCIAL SCIENCE: AN ESSAY ON THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES. By *Folke Dovring*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1960. Pp. vi, 97. Glds. 6.90.) The American reader will not find in this book quite what its title will lead him to expect. Part of the trouble lies in the usage of the word "science" on the continent of Europe and the different usage in England and America, a difference that has complicated many international exchanges. More than that, the American colloquy over the relations between history and the social sciences has developed concepts and formulations of the problem that are concrete and pragmatic rather than abstract and philosophical. The present study is silent on such questions as the applicability to history of quantification and the methodologies of the social sciences. Mr. Dovring addresses himself to classical problems such as cause and effect and historical causation, sources and source criticism, synthesis and objectivity. It is his purpose "to analyze the peculiar conditions which determine the possibilities of historical science." He modestly disclaims originality for the ideas he advances and says that "many of them are so old and widely repeated that it is very difficult to settle who is the originator in each case." He wishes to be read, "not as an authority, but as a partner in a debate on matters which I believe to be important." The essay belongs in the genre of Sir Isaiah Berlin's *Historical Inevitability*, but it does not have the polemical tone and authority, nor the challenge and verve of Berlin's essay.

Johns Hopkins University

C. VANN WOODWARD

ADVENTURES OF A BIOGRAPHER. By *Catherine Drinker Bowen*. (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. 1959. Pp. xi, 235. \$4.00.) Mrs. Bowen has written a charming essay of her experiences in preparing her lives of Tchaikovsky, Holmes, Adams, and Coke, giving to it the familiar qualities: the dramatic theme, the disciplined style, the power of portrayal, the integrity of purpose, the untiring pursuit of the significant detail and the dominant theme. Her choice of subject, she reveals, must first of all be dramatic and is narrowed further by being limited to leonine old men. She takes delight in her craft and knows that style is something integral with mind and heart, not just a shaping of words. Scholars in archives may become calloused as surgeons, but the sight of Guy Fawkes's signatures before and after the wrack can make Mrs. Bowen almost physically ill. She is deeply engaged, and one can pay her the high compliment—she will know its dimensions—of saying that biography is to her what government was to Adams and law was to Coke. She sees no sound reason to disregard the willingness of an audience to buy honest biographies written with ardor as well as intelligence. She pays tribute to librarians who have encouraged her, but in the company of historians she has shivered at the cool detachment and then boiled at the talk of presentism, of frames of reference, of conceptualizing, of adding new dimensions, and of employing interdisciplinary skills. Well she might, but has it occurred to her that the librarians

whom she admires—Davies, Wroth, Adams, Powell, and others—are all historians? The near caricature of the historian in conclave, done with incisive wit, springs from an esteem and a concern that would not have produced such stinging words if she had cared less. The historian should ponder Mrs. Bowen's ardent, disciplined approach to her craft with humility and respect. Yet he cannot avoid noticing that, numbed by dullness and pretentious jargon, she has made the same error of emphasis that Allan Nevins and some others have made. Despite her grasp of the nature of style, she looses her barbs without distinguishing her own ground rules from those of the historian and without taking into account the duties, the gradations of tasks, and the variety of styles appropriate for those within the academic fold. It is quite legitimate for her to choose grand old men whose lives furnish dramatic themes, but it is not legitimate for her to stand on that craggy mountain and berate the laborers in the vineyards below because the whiff of their fertilizer gives offense. To do so is unworthy of a scholar of her stature and indeed violates her own belief about the nature of style. The scholar's duty to his discipline—the word offends Mrs. Bowen, but it is the proper word—grants him no such freedom as she quite properly asserts for herself. The historian of metrology or of economic theory ought to write well, and his duty requires him to make the effort. But he is bound to explore what has meaning and importance and to set forth his findings with precision, regardless of the effect upon a paying audience. Mrs. Bowen's biographies, distinguished as they are, could not be so rich in texture if the historian had failed in the past to perform that yeoman's duty, and the forces attracting him away from it need encouragement from her and from others within the guild about as much as the sun needs an invocation to enable it to rise. The classic comment on the relation of style to the historian's craft is still Samuel E. Morison's *History as a Literary Art*.

Princeton University

JULIAN P. BOYD

DIE GESCHICHTLICHE EINHEIT DES ABENDLANDES: REDEN UND AUFSÄTZE. By Peter Rassow. [Kölner Historische Abhandlungen, Number 2.] (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 1960. Pp. xii, 463. Cloth DM 36, paper DM 32.) The addresses and essays in this volume were selected in part to give an overview of the author's work to his professional colleagues. They include specialized studies of medieval and modern topics from the eleventh century to the twentieth. In greater part, however, the interest and importance of the book lie in the more general contributions. It represents the vulgarization without debasement of responsible historical scholarship. Six of the addresses were first given over radio, and others were delivered to present but non-academic audiences. The title for the book as a whole comes from the radio series that opens the collection, and it reflects the author's underlying concept of the others: the historical unity of the West. By implication and once in a while by direct statement, Rassow rejects the more radical attempts to revise German history. At the same time, he preaches and practices the revision of selection and interpretation in history. The great blunder of Germany under William II, he repeats, was the failure to recognize and understand the conditions under which a great power can also become a world power. In the crisis of 1914, he suggests, this was the historical core of the problem, and the correct solution for Germany would have been a decision like that of Frederick William IV in 1850, not to risk a war that was inherently without hope of success and to fall back voluntarily into the ranks of the European states who are not really world powers. "We see quite plainly today . . . that Germany's position in Europe was . . . completely insecure. A European Great Power, however, which is not sure of its position in Europe cannot be a World Power." From such hindsight of the historian, Rassow

tries indirectly and directly to formulate for himself and for his people a revised nationalism that turns aside from the chauvinistic exaggerations of the past and finds its essential character and satisfaction in tasks of peaceful reconstruction.

University of Minnesota

LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL

MAN AS CHURCHMAN. By *Norman Sykes*. [The Wiles Lectures given at the Queen's University, Belfast, 1959.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 202. \$4.00.) The distinguished church historian, who formerly was Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge and now is dean of Winchester Cathedral, has here given us a few applications of his ripe scholarship to mooted issues in ecclesiastical history. He begins by an introductory presentation of what he conceives to be the place and nature of ecclesiastical history: its use of historical materials, its relations to other forms of history, and the place of faith in the interpretation of history. He then takes up the Petrine Primacy and goes with some detail into the debates that centered about it in the Council of Trent and the Vatican Council. He describes the use of the Church fathers, especially the writings of Irenaeus and Cyprian, in these assemblies, notes the differences of interpretation in the two gatherings, and concludes that the definition contained in *Pastor aeternus* which issued from the Vatican Council was not proved from the sources. He next takes up the long debate, especially between Catholics and Protestants in the period of the Reformation and its immediate aftermath, of the relative authority of Scriptures and tradition. He summarizes divergent positions that scholars in both camps took in their appeal to the documents of the early Church. Then follows a chapter on the relations of church and state since 1815, particularly the controversies over the control of education. Here Sykes pays particular attention to the record in France. For himself, he comes out for full tolerance of each other by state and church. The lectures are marked by wide and profound erudition with detailed knowledge of the writings that entered into the discussions and of the records of the debates. The author is clearly Anglican, but he seeks, and with admirable success, to be dispassionate in his description of the many different views displayed in the controversies.

Yale University

K. S. LATOURETTE

NORTHWEST BY SEA. By *Ernest S. Dodge*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 348. \$6.50.) This readable and compact volume traces the history of the search for the Northwest Passage by sea from the end of the fifteenth century to its first successful passage by Roald Amundsen in 1903-1906. Its author, the editor of *The American Neptune*, has covered the subject thoroughly, including many obscure and little-known attempts to find the passage. The study is introduced by a brief account of the recent successful passages by nuclear submarines and Canadian and United States Coast Guard ships. Dodge has drawn on few documentary sources for material, but has based his study on the large number of published personal accounts of the various voyages, the publications of the Hakluyt Society, and the early collections of Hakluyt himself and of Purchas. In the aggregate a large volume of source material has been condensed into this work. The essential elements of each attempt to find the Northwest Passage have been extracted, and this in itself is a noteworthy accomplishment in a single volume of less than 320 printed pages of text. The chronological tables at the beginning of the book list the known attempts to find the passage and indicate the scope of the work. Naturally, the details of nearly one hundred recorded searches cannot be given, but the reader is rewarded with the substance of each, its accomplishment, and a vivid view of the hardships involved and the eternal struggle against the Arctic cold and ever-present ice. The most dramatic and moving single feature in the book is

the account of the search for the Franklin expedition, conducted in the late 1840's and early 1850's by some thirty-two ships. While its scope is limited to the search for the Northwest Passage by sea, this volume is a definite contribution to the history of Arctic exploration. Should the reader want a more detailed account of any specific attempt to find the passage, the excellent bibliography provides him with a lead to the sources.
Newport, Rhode Island

BERN ANDERSON

COMMUNISM. By *Alfred G. Meyer*. [Studies in Political Science.] (New York: Random House. 1960. Pp. 217. \$1.95.) Alfred G. Meyer's *Communism* is an important and instructive book, which deserves a far wider recognition than its unprepossessing advent in paperback format and scant space for review here betoken. The book is not a mere tract for the times but a very scholarly approach to the course of Marxism and Communism since the 1840's. Meyer's interpretation is interesting first because he writes of Marx without starting at dialectical materialism. The chapter on "Marxist Theory" is highly rational and analyzes effectively the highly rational in Marx. But of course there is much irrationality in Marxism and in people, and Meyer's interpretation is interesting secondly because he is a skillful historian who succeeds in presenting a perfectly rational basis for what appears to non-Communists as irrational intellectual behavior. In "The Soviet Way of Life" the author challenges the methods of "kremlinologists," most of whose work is at best informed speculation. We are also reminded of the historical fact that Marxism as a system of ideas was and is a liberating force. The chapter "World Communism since World War II" is particularly useful for pointing out the conflict between what most people think Communism is and the diversity of contemporary Communism in actuality. Read in the context of the book as a whole, most of the statements Meyer makes that challenge popular opinion have historical support. "In practice, world communism appears to have given up hope of a Western proletarian revolution," for example, is carefully justified. The author's further statement, "By slow and painful adjustments, therefore, communism has come to recognize 'different roads' toward socialism," probably also describes a process public opinion in the West will have to follow in learning to recognize the nonmonolithic character of Communism. Meyer's book is a valuable aid to the process.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE BARR CARSON, JR.

DIPLOMACY IN A CHANGING WORLD. Edited by *Stephen D. Kertesz* and *M. A. Fitzsimons*. [International Studies of the Committee on International Relations, University of Notre Dame.] (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 407. \$7.50.) This book is a series of twenty essays, nine of which were the results of conferences held at Notre Dame between 1956 and 1958. The list of contributors is a distinguished one, and the quality of the essays is generally high. Taken collectively, how do they illuminate the contemporary diplomatic scene? Perhaps the most important point to be stressed is the nature of Soviet diplomacy. The purpose of the Soviet Union is not stability, but troublemaking. In a brief but extremely able introduction, Kertesz and Fitzsimons state the matter concisely: "Khrushchev at times speaks of co-existence in such a way as to appeal to the desire in the Soviet world for a settlement based on the status quo. But his view of the status quo considers communist expansion as a natural and historically necessary phenomenon." The same point is brilliantly made by Kertesz in an essay on "American and Soviet Negotiating Behavior." Soviet diplomacy is based on the view that "the hostile intentions of the foreign world are axiomatic," and that diplomatic contacts are viewed as "skirmishes in the great fight against a corrupt and doomed system of society." An equally somber view of the

Russian diplomatic posture is that of Professor Philip Mosely, who comes to the conclusion that "after a period of experimentation with the wider range of political and economic and psychological instruments, Khrushchev seems to be concentrating on the employment of Soviet military power, now arrayed in a new and even more ominous form. He seems determined, in one part of the world or another, to raise a major strategic challenge to the strength and cohesion of the free world." Is Western diplomacy equal to the task of dealing with the Communists? The question is raised in more than one of these essays. Professor Morgenthau believes that there must be a return to the quieter methods of negotiation and that the free nations are at a disadvantage in the public forum. In view of the shameless mendacity of the Communists in their public propaganda, there is much force in this view. If anything can be accomplished, it can best be accomplished privately. A gloomy view, even of these possibilities, is that expressed by George Kennan in an essay entitled "History and Diplomacy as Viewed by a Diplomatist." Kennan and Louis J. Halle make no bones about the difficulties created for the diplomat by democracies' inconvenient habit of importing moralistic ideas into diplomacy. Raymond J. Sontag finds the problem of collecting the information on which to base sound policy staggering. Sir David Kelly, a professional British diplomat, is filled with gloom at the British record since foreign policy became a matter of general interest and of "romantic" beliefs, such as that in collective security. Not all the essays are gloomy. Professor Quincy Wright sees possibilities in the development of international law. Professor William T. R. Fox discusses suggestively, and objectively, the increasing role of the military in foreign policy. There are three excellent commentaries on the work of the United Nations. In any case, perhaps it is a good thing to introduce a note of criticism, of harsh realism, to counteract the sentimentality of so large a part of the American public, American professors included.

Rochester, New York

DEXTER PERKINS

THE UNITED STATES AND LATIN AMERICA. By *Dexter Perkins*. [Davis Washington Mitchell Lectures, Tulane University.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1961. Pp. xi, 124. \$3.00.) The three "lectures in essay form" in this little book provide the reader with a lucid and stimulating introduction to all the major aspects of relations between the United States and Latin America except cultural relations. The approach is primarily historical, but current issues as they appeared at the time of writing, 1959, are presented in a manner that is both informative and challenging. In the first essay, "Latin America and National Security," Perkins shows how ideology rather than strategy shaped the Latin American policy of the United States until the turn of the century when strategy began to take over, first in the Caribbean. He deplores the role of ideology, and yet he also maintains that the chief threat to security has almost always been, and still is, political, not military. The central theme of this essay is the Monroe Doctrine in its various forms, including its so-called "Pan-Americanization." The second essay deals with the history of political relations, which is divided into five periods, with 1826, our Civil War, 1900, and World War II as the dividing lines. While Perkins does not characterize the contemporary period, he evidently regards Communism as the chief disturbing factor. He is rather hopeful about the prospects, for he believes that the Latin Americans' nationalism and the "relatively moderate character" of their "democratic parties of reform" will "dilute and perhaps frustrate the Communist menace." The third essay, on economic relations, brings together much data on trade, aid, and private investments, which are presented in historical perspective with many shrewd insights. Again the forward view is rather hopeful; it might have been less so if the analysis had included such factors as the population

explosion in Latin America, the dislike of many of its people for United States support of the orthodox policy of the International Monetary Fund, and the apparently growing Latin American tendency to subordinate democratic freedoms as well as economic orthodoxy to social reform and economic development. As Perkins notes in his preface, events in Cuba since the delivery of these lectures may make his observations on political developments in Latin America "seem over-optimistic." However that may be, his book ably supports his conclusion that "Latin America ought to hold a special place in the thought of Americans" since, with the exception of Western Europe and Canada, "no region is more significant than Latin America" from the point of view of the United States.

University of Pennsylvania

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

THE ANGLO-IRANIAN OIL DISPUTE: A STUDY OF PROBLEMS OF NATIONALIZATION OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT AND THEIR IMPACT ON INTERNATIONAL LAW. By *Sunil Kanti Ghosh*. (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. 1960. Pp. xiv, 340.) This study by an Indian lawyer deals mainly with the Anglo-Iranian oil dispute arising from Iran's decision in 1951 to take over properties of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. Prefatory chapters, designed to place the dispute in its historical setting, outline briefly the history of British oil enterprise in Persia, great power rivalries there, and local economic and social conditions, all of which contributed to the strong nationalistic reaction that precipitated the crisis and impeded its settlement. There follow two chapters on the unsuccessful negotiations between the parties and the failure of the United Nations to achieve settlement either through the International Court of Justice or the Security Council. Final chapters touch on international law and practice relating to nationalization of property and to protection of foreign investments. Ghosh is not entirely unsympathetic to Iranian aspirations to use their oil resources for improving the lot of their people, but he is keenly aware of the dilemma presented private investors facing potential nationalization. He believes that traditional international law and contemporary international institutions are severely limited in meeting these problems. The author does not mention two major monographs by Elwell-Sutton and Alan W. Ford devoted to the issues he discusses. Ford's study is generally superior in research, analysis, and presentation. Ghosh's research on the non-legal background suffers from superficiality attributable in part to citation of statistics from outdated studies. Much of the text consists of excessively long and repetitious quotations from documents and publicists without adequate integration or analysis. One has the impression of perusing a collection of inadequately digested notes. In view of far more than an allowable quota of misprints, errors in dates, and faulty citations, even a brief review must call attention to the poor editorial work. The study was originally presented as a thesis for the Doctor of Science degree in law awarded by the University of Illinois in 1956.

Pennsylvania State University

JOHN A. DENOVO

GERMAN-PERSIAN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, 1873-1912. By *Bradford G. Martin*. (The Hague: Mouton and Company. 1959. Pp. 237. \$6.50.) This is a well-ordered narrative of the rise and fall of German imperialism in Persia before World War I. The theme is that Germany viewed Persia with mounting interest after Bismarck's time, tentatively and with Persian encouragement began to challenge Persia's British and Russian overlords after 1905, but to achieve accord with Russia forswore imperialistic aims there in 1911 and forfeited the doubtless misguided admiration of the Persian people. The theme is defensible although the author fails to allay doubts that

Germany had much to gain economically in Persia or that Persia had much to gain politically from collusion with Germany. What is new in the book is full German documentation which frequently appears in highly informative footnotes. Mr. Martin selected and microfilmed whatever he wanted in the Archives of the German Foreign Office while they were in the custody of the British Foreign Office after World War II, and he found much that was not published in *Die Grosse Politik*. If he had had equal fortune with the Persian documents, his book would be unique among Western accounts of Persia's diplomatic relations. He was graciously given permission to make microfilms in the Archives of the Iranian Foreign Ministry, but an aged custodian alone knew how the documents were classified, and Martin got his lens on nothing of value. And so, though the Persians had something to say, most of the lines are given to the West. Even the Persian market, the economic objective of German imperialism, remains abstract and unpeopled. But viewed as a history of Germany's maneuvering with other powers in and about Persia for a brief moment, this book meets the tests of evidence and clarity, and adds significant detail to this relatively neglected area of diplomacy on the eve of World War I.

Bennington College

THOMAS BROCKWAY

AMERICA AND THE RUSSO-FINNISH WAR. By *Andrew J. Schwartz*. Introduction by *Quincy Wright*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1960. Pp. vi, 103. \$3.25.) Recent missions to Moscow of Finland's President Kekkonen emphasize again the inescapable preoccupation of Finnish leaders with the Soviet Union. How American diplomats groped toward an understanding of this preoccupation during World War II is the subject of this monograph. Though Andrew Schwartz includes much familiar material, his description of American diplomacy in this area is original, informative, and lucid. During the Russo-Finnish Winter War (1939-1940) the United States was sympathetic toward Finland, but sufficiently isolationist to offer no more than token aid. From 1940 to Pearl Harbor relations cooled as Washington gravitated toward war against Germany, and Helsinki toward cobelligerency with Germany against Russia. Finally a period of acute strain ensued when Finland and the United States found themselves warring with each other's ally. But despite pressing for Finnish acceptance of Soviet peace offers, the State Department avoided war with Finland, an action that Schwartz notes initiated the enlightened American policy toward Finland since 1945. Although academic in format, this effort will not satisfy the specialists. The core of the study, based on State Department files, is undocumented. Finnish newspapers are also quoted without citations. Apparently the author has not consulted Leonard Lundin's observations on Finnish military cooperation with the Germans against Russia's Murmansk supply line. Schwartz's assertion that the Finns were "compelled" by Moscow to support admission of Red China to the United Nations is highly questionable in view of Finnish abstentions on other issues when they cannot conscientiously vote with the Soviets. Lastly, the military situation in Finland rapidly deteriorated in 1943-1944, not 1942-1943, and Erik Heinrichs was Chief of the Finnish General Staff, not a German general. When a definitive treatment of the title subject appears, it is hoped that it will include further study of American public opinion toward Finland.

Pennsylvania State University

KENT FORSTER

THE ORIGINS OF INTERVENTIONISM: THE UNITED STATES AND THE RUSSO-FINNISH WAR. By *Robert Sobel*. (New York: Bookman Associates, 1960. Pp. 204. \$4.50.) Mr. Sobel argues that the Winter War of 1939-1940 undermined the basic assumptions of American isolationists and interventionists because this minor conflict

disturbed the postulates of both groups. The very limited aid given Finland, it is asserted, created a precedent for future grand-scale aid to other victims of aggression. The evidence here presented is based upon the Roosevelt Papers, government publications, selected press and periodical reports, and conventional secondary accounts. Hence the value of the book hinges upon the author's synthesis rather than upon the uncovering of hitherto hidden documents. Given this limitation, the material is well organized and presented in an acceptable manner. Sobel is prone to oversimplification. He has not made due allowance for Roosevelt's election-year isolationist platitudes. To say that the President was "delighted" at the passage of the 1936 Neutrality Act is an overstatement. Similarly, he takes too seriously hypothetical differences between confessed isolationists and so-called interventionists, between vestigial Wilsonians and men who wanted Uncle Sam to halt the Axis and then resume an ostrich stance. Repeated rationalizations were aired in those hectic days to explain a host of inconsistencies. But many of these *volte-faces* came during the debate over the repeal of the arms embargo, prior to the onset of the Winter War, and still more were to come after Helsinki had yielded. Actually, it was the prospect of a Hitlerian victory in Western Europe foreshadowed by the fall of France that doomed noninterventionism. The Finnish interlude was just a weird guessing game as to the eventual part that the USSR would play in the outcome of the larger conflict. As long as the Maginot Line stood intact, American public opinion refused to sanction effective help to the Allies. Roosevelt's makeshift policy was ended not by the events of the winter of 1939-1940 but by events of the spring that followed. To be sure, the "war within a war" caused a temporary shift in positions with some ingrained isolationists' demanding immediate action and some pro-Ally groups unwilling to seal the 1939 rapprochement between Moscow and Berlin by extending outright aid to Finland. But this was only a temporary juxtaposition, and soon the opposing coalitions re-emerged virtually in their original forms. In sum, the book's chief value is its analysis of this ephemeral realignment during the course of the protracted debate over American interposition. More than a precedent for wholesale help to Britain and Russia before Pearl Harbor or for Truman's stand on collective security in the Korean crisis, the Finnish crisis was a prototype for future inaction.

University of Buffalo

SELIG ADLER

Ancient and Medieval

ESSAYS IN ANTIQUITY. By *Peter Green*. (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company. 1960. Pp. x, 224. \$5.00.) Addressed to classicists in general rather than specifically to ancient historians, these nine essays first appeared not in the "learned journals" but in those addressed to the educated public, for example, *History Today* and the *Times Literary Supplement*, or they were delivered as lectures or talks on the BBC. They are by no means merely "popular," however, and they can be read with profit and pleasure by the "professional" classicist or ancient historian; they should prove particularly stimulating to students as a change from the more solemn articles to which so much of their attention is directed. Without pedantry, they evince a thorough familiarity with the classical authors who are discussed and with the relevant modern literature, particularly that in English. The first and last essays are the most general. In the former, Mr. Green attacks the narrowly "philological" teaching of classical literature and pleads for a broader interpretation in terms of contemporary literary criticism and making use of the results of such newer disciplines as psychology or comparative anthropology. In the final paper, he discusses the art of translation, using various versions of

Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and urging that the pseudoclassical romanticism of the past be replaced by a more serious effort to reproduce the spirit of the original in contemporary English. He illustrates his point in both essays from Louis MacNeice, one of whose verses is used to describe the dryness of the traditional teaching of the dead languages and whose translation of the *Agamemnon* seems to Green both modern and close to the spirit of the original. The remaining essays deal more specifically with authors from Homer and Hesiod through Stoic and Epicurean philosophy to Ovid, the Plinys, and Roman satire. Two are overtly historical. In the third, Green examines Herodotus and Thucydides and urges the high merits of the former, who in recent classical scholarship has been overshadowed by the latter. The fifth disparages Caesar as a prototype of modern dictators. Scholars and others may disagree with Green's judgments, but they will find him lively without being flip and independent without being unsound. He wafts a fresh breeze of re-evaluation to stir the drooping banners of traditional philology and to rouse the somnolent warders of academic ivory towers.

Harvard University

MASON HAMMOND

GRIECHISCHE GESCHICHTE: VON DEN ANFÄNGEN BIS IN DIE RÖMISCHE KAISERZEIT. By *Hermann Bengtson*. [Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, Volume III, Part 4.] (2d rev. ed.; Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1960. Pp. xix, 609. Cloth DM 48, paper DM 42.) There is a glut of popular generalizations about the Greeks, and there is no scarcity of textbooks. But here is something different—an up-to-date manual for historians, clear, succinct, sound in scholarship, with emphasis on political development. The second edition incorporates recent scholarly interpretations and new discoveries. Fortunately the author usually heeded the criticisms of the first edition. Since the book will also be used by nonspecialists, it would be good if Bengtson marked clearly the boundaries of our knowledge. For instance, he mentions "archaeological indications" of the so-called Dorian invasion. As a matter of fact there is no shred of archaeological evidence referring to the coming and installation of the Dorians in the Peloponnesus. As the author notes, the invasion or infiltration of Indo-Europeans in Greece also left no material traces. Speaking of early Greek commerce, Bengtson, of course, mentions vases. An uninitiated student may get the impression that vases illustrate our knowledge of the subject. In fact, they are the only extant source. It is as if our knowledge of transatlantic commerce were based exclusively on French perfume bottles found in the dumps of American cities. More than a century ago Karl Marx, in the New York *Tribune*, related Greek colonization to the development of slavery. As often happens with brilliant ideas, the facts contradict the hypothesis. The professional historian tells us now that the only true explanation of Greek colonization is "the new *Lebensgefühl*." But why did Greek vitality boil over from about 730 B.C. until about 550 B.C.? The author does not know the reasons for Greek colonization, nor do I. Why should we not say so to the uninformed?

Columbia University

E. J. BICKERMAN

HEIRS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. By *Richard E. Sullivan*. [The Development of Western Civilization: Narrative Essays in the History of Our Tradition from Its Origins in Ancient Israel and Greece to the Present.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 178. \$1.75.) This lively addition to the Cornell paperback series in European history tells the story of the three distinctive civilizations that succeeded the Roman Empire—Germanic, Arabic, and Byzantine—from the seventh to the tenth century in three relatively distinct periods. Emphasis is distributed evenly among the three societies, and in each period stress is put upon the creative force of a different

society manifested by the rise of Islam from 600 to 750, the rule of the Carolingians from 750 to 850, and the Macedonian dynasty from 850 to 1000. The importance in this story of many other subjects, such as the Merovingians, the Abbasids, iconoclasm, and feudalism, is not neglected, nor is that of the relations between the societies. Sullivan's primary concern is for the differentiation and novelty of these civilizations with only occasional regard for their continuity with the classical heritage. Politics, religion, and leading personalities in Church and state dominate the narrative and the good but too brief summaries of cultural traits. Economics seems dependent on politics, and the activities of agrarian and urban material producers receive little attention. This is in keeping with the emphasis of the volume (and of the series) on narrative rather than analysis and perhaps with the decline in the popularity of economics as a mode of historical explanation since the rise of totalitarianism. The account of political and religious events is vigorous and interprets them clearly and broadly in the perspective of the book's theme.

Reed College

R. F. ARRAGON

BYZANZ UND BYZANTINER: IHR BILD IM SPIEGEL DER ÜBERLIEFERUNG DER GERMANISCHEN REICHE IM FRÜHEREN MITTELALTER. By *Fred Haenssler*. [Inaugural-Dissertation der Philosophisch-historischen Fakultät der Universität Bern zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde.] (Bern: Buri & Cie. Buchdruckerei und Verlag. 1960. Pp. 147.) The object of this little book is to determine whether the intense antagonism between the Greek East and the Latin West which developed in the course of the Middle Ages had any of its roots in the Germanic kingdoms in the period before Charlemagne. A brief introduction in which the author points out the historical significance of this antagonism is followed by a systematic examination of the following Germanic peoples' (Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Franks, Anglo-Saxons, and Lombards) attitude toward Byzantium. Haenssler finds some hostility and indifference among these peoples toward Byzantium, but he also finds that they accepted it as the *Imperium Romanum* and in general sought to fit themselves into the framework which that idea implied. He concludes, therefore, that in the West before 800 there was no general antagonism to Byzantium. That antagonism began to develop toward the end of the eighth century, and the papacy was primarily responsible for it, first by orienting itself toward the Franks and away from Byzantium, and then by the revolutionary act of creating the empire of the West. Before 800 Byzantium was the *Imperium Romanum*, the one universal empire, the *ecumene*; after 800 this was no longer true. The *ecumene* was now split into two parts, and these two parts would become increasingly hostile to each other. These things, of course, have been said before, but Haenssler's demonstration that in the West before 800 there was no general antagonism to Byzantium helps to emphasize them.

Rutgers University

PETER CHARANIS

EDWARD I AND CRIMINAL LAW. By *T. F. T. Plucknett*. [The Wiles Lectures.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1960. Pp. vii, 104. \$3.00.) This lively little book, containing the four Wiles Lectures given at the Queen's University of Belfast in 1958, is not primarily concerned with the technicalities of criminal legislation or administration under Edward I. Instead, it discusses in stimulating and discursive fashion the changing approaches to some major problems of criminal law over the whole period from Anglo-Saxon times to the late Middle Ages. The lectures have two main themes: relations between central and local administration of justice and the interplay between growing English law and the works of theologians, canonists, and civilians. There are excellent pages on the early penitentials and their connection with Anglo-Saxon law, on

franchisal jurisdiction, and on the emergence of jury trial. The author might have added here, for it fits in well with his argument, that the numerous unedited commentaries on the Decretum provide ample evidence of the canonists' hostility to the ordeal for half a century before Innocent III's famous decree of 1215. As for Edward I himself, "in his eyes the problem of criminal law was very largely the problem of getting vigorous and honest men in the lower ranks of the official hierarchy. . . ." Professor Plucknett regrets that the adoption of French as the language of law cut England off from the mainstream of continental Latin jurisprudence, and he points out how little substantive criminal law was enacted by Edward's Parliaments.

Cornell University

BRIAN TIERNEY

ABHANDLUNGEN UND UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUR MITTELALTERLICHEN GESCHICHTE. By Edmund E. Stengel. (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1960. Pp. x, 392. DM 35.) On the occasion of his seventieth birthday, E. E. Stengel's colleagues and friends published a collection of twenty essays written during the past half century by this eminent German medieval scholar. Stengel's work, in comparison with the writings of Kern, Schramm, Tellenbach, and Erdmann, his great contemporaries, seems to be little influenced by the characteristic German historical attitudes of *Geistesgeschichte*. Stengel's approach lies mainly within the framework of the older *Verfassungsgeschichte*; his interests and methods are a continuation of the legalistic, institutional, historical writing of the nineteenth century. Stengel is sensible, learned, and careful, but rather lacking in ideas and insight. At times the present essays are so pedestrian and jejune that one yearns, as a radical antidote, for the brilliant fantasies of E. H. Kantorowicz' *Frederick II*, which represents the other historiographical extreme of twentieth-century German medieval scholarship. Stengel is at his best, therefore, when discussing strictly political and legal problems. It is useful to have, in this convenient form, his important essays with additional notes and bibliography on "Grundherrschaft und Immunität" and "Zum Prozess Heinrichs des Löwen." His essay on the origins of the *Ministerialität* is still worth careful reading, and the volume also contains several detailed studies on particular incidents or institutions in medieval Germany that are as valuable as such minute studies can be. It is when he attempts to deal with intellectual and cultural themes that the severe limitations of Stengel's qualities as a historian become all too evident. Two essays on medieval German historians—one on Lambert of Hersfeld and the other on "Die Entstehung der Kaiserchronik und der Aufgang der staufischen Zeit"—exhibit only the author's ability to read the texts closely. An interesting and quite valuable study on the feudal foundations of the *Reichsfürstenstandes* falls short of the highest quality because Stengel ignores comparison with other feudal societies. The author apparently has not heard of French or English feudalism. The first essay in the book, "Die Kirchenverfassung Westeuropas in Mittelalter," is remarkable only for its success in making a fascinating and important subject dull and trivial. It is with a certain regret that one finishes perusing this volume, regret that in a half century of work one of the leading German scholars of his generation should have exhibited no real intellectual growth, no appreciation of new methods, no adaptation of the comparative study of institutions begun by French scholars, not even any apparent insight gained from the terrible experiences of his country in the twentieth century.

Columbia University

NORMAN F. CANTOR

GUNZO, *EPISTOLA AD AUGIENSES* UND ANSELM VON BESATE, *RHE-TORIMACHIA*. Edited by Karl Manitius. [Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Die Deutschen Geschichtsquellen des Mittelalters, 500-1500. Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte

des Mittelalters, Volume II.] (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger. 1958. Pp. vi, 215. DM 19.50.) DIE URKUNDEN DER DEUTSCHEN KAROLINGER. Volume IV, DIE URKUNDEN ZWENTIBOLDS UND LUDWIGS DES KINDES. Compiled by Theodor Schieffer. [Monumenta Germaniae Historica.] (Berlin: Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1960. Pp. xiv, 332. DM 66.) Gunzo was a learned Italian whom Otto the Great brought back to Germany with him in the winter of 964-965. During his stay at St. Gall in January 965, Gunzo, in conversation with some of the monks, is said to have used an ablative in place of an accusative! Twitted about this in some Latin verses Gunzo replied with the *Epistola*—twenty-eight printed pages of prose and hexameter verse. Beginning with the story of his northbound journey, Gunzo answered his critic on the level of grammar and then appealed to a higher law, sprinkling his pages with citations from Latin authors from Terence to Isidore and exhibiting as well a wide acquaintance with Greek learning. The *Epistola*, in a word, is in the humanistic tradition of the pre-Cluny period. Anselm of Besate was another representative of this tradition. He traveled to Germany in the train of Henry III, to whom he dedicated his *Rhetorimachia*, written at Parma from 1046 to 1048. In it Anselm, "the Peripatetic," as he called himself, discoursed on style, grammar, dialectics, canon law, and certain theological and philosophical problems. His citations from classical and Christian authors are an impressive testimony to the humanistic spirit of the day, with the first victory of reform in northern Italy but ten years away. The edition of the *diplomata* of the German Carolingians, A.D. 829-911 (from Louis the German to Louis the Child), is completed in the present volume. Zwentibold, a natural son of Arnulf, was "king" of Germany, under his father, the emperor from 894 to 899. Only twenty-eight documents, seven originals, survive from his Chancery. They mostly record grants of lands, immunities, and privileges to ecclesiastical bodies. In the preface to the documents there is an exposition of the problems that their editing presented. The documents which issued from the Chancery of Emperor Louis the Child, only legitimate son of Arnulf (899-911), are very similar in character to those of Zwentibold. Eighty-five of them are published here.

Boston University

W. O. AULT

THE ACTS OF MALCOLM IV, KING OF SCOTS 1153-1165: TOGETHER WITH SCOTTISH ROYAL ACTS PRIOR TO 1153 NOT INCLUDED IN SIR ARCHIBALD LAWRIE'S 'EARLY SCOTTISH CHARTERS.' Collected and edited by G. W. S. Barrow. [Regesta Regum Scottorum, 1153-1424, Volume I.] (Edinburgh: the University Press; distrib. by Quadrangle Books, Chicago. 1960. Pp. xvi, 339. \$12.50.) If the remaining seven volumes of the Regesta Regum Scottorum receive the same thorough treatment accorded Volume I, the set should prove invaluable to students of Scottish and English history and of the institutions of medieval feudalism. This volume covers not only the charters issued by Malcolm IV (the Maiden), but also all those that have come to light from previous reigns since the publication of Lawrie's *Early Scottish Charters* in 1905. It should, therefore, fill a number of important gaps. As one might expect, most of the documents relate to ecclesiastical establishments that have carefully preserved their muniments. There are, however, many indications that the total number either printed in full or merely calendared (because no text is at present available) form only a small proportion of the production of the Chapel Royal of the early Scottish kings. Some of the early documents also deal with the royal lands in England. G. W. S. Barrow of London University has provided an extremely careful but concise introduction in which he has outlined the reign of Malcolm IV, has discussed the royal government during Malcolm's monarchy, and has carefully analyzed the acts of that King

and his predecessors. A description of methods of editing, a short glossary of Scottish terms for "Sassenachs," and detailed indexes complete the apparatus furnished to make the volume extremely useful.

McGill University

W. STANFORD REID

THE CHRONICLE OF HENRY OF LIVONIA. Translated with introduction and notes by *James A. Brundage*. [Documents from Medieval Latin.] (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1961. Pp. vii, 262. \$5.00.) Henry's chronicle is almost our only source for German expansion and colonization in the Baltic area at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The author was a clerk, probably of German origin, who came to Livonia at the beginning of the century and later settled among the Letts. Thus he is to a great extent an eyewitness to the events of his chronicle, which starts about 1180 when Meinhard, who later became the first bishop of Livonia, started his missionary activity. The final chapter is devoted to the submission of Oesel in 1226. The central figure in the account is Bishop Albert who succeeds in converting the Baltic pagans to Christianity by military and political means. The chronicle is another excellent illustration of how closely medieval missionary work was connected with economic and political motives. Highly interesting is the relationship between Latin and Orthodox Christianity in the contended areas. Brundage based his translation on W. Arndt's edition in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* from 1874, saying that Leonid Arbusow's edition of 1955 came to hand too late. Neither did he consult Arbusow's list of improvements to Arndt's text from 1927 nor S. A. Anninskij's improved text from 1937. These changes in the text, however, do not seem to be important, and the Latin is rendered in good clear English. A map would have increased the value of the book.

Ann Arbor, Michigan

JENNY JOCHENS

THE ENGLISH JEWRY UNDER ANGEVIN KINGS. By *H. G. Richardson*. (London: Methuen and Company. 1960. Pp. ix, 313, 35s.) In this small but highly compact volume Richardson offers us a corrected history of English Jewry both in detail and in general interpretation. His main emphasis lies in the twelfth century although it is obvious that he has something to say about the expulsion of 1290 which he treats in a final note. The significant core and major contribution of the work are in the middle chapters where the relation of the Jewish community to royal government is examined. An administrative and constitutional history of the Jews is constructed from the multifarious rolls and charters of English government in which the author is an acknowledged master. In rich detail we see precisely how the English Jew was governed, regulated, and protected solely by the authority of his royal master. In the twelfth century the system produced, with few exceptions, a peaceful coexistence between Jews and Gentiles. This harmony is further illustrated in the intellectual realm by the exchanges between Jewish and Christian Biblical scholars. In contrast, Richardson contends that the thirteenth century witnessed the appearance of a Christian church increasingly zealous and correspondingly hostile to the Jews. When the treacherous Edward I was King, as Richardson and some other British historians would have him, the final result could only be expulsion. An initial section of the book examines the economic activities of the English Jew. Through governmental documents we see him primarily as a lender, but we might suspect him to be more of a trader than he is shown. His forms of partnerships for floating loans bear tantalizing resemblance to trading partnerships of Italian merchants, and from what we know about the Italians, trade and finance were rarely separated. The final section treats the development of ecclesiastical doctrine toward Jewry and its effect on English law. Here Richardson has not had the last word.

As he has taught us in constitutional history, it is not sufficient merely to read the text of the law. It must always be understood in its formative context and manner of application. This is also true in ecclesiastical history. For example, the ecclesiastical attempt of the thirteenth century to compel Jews to pay tithes was interpreted by the theologians Robert of Courson, Geoffrey of Poitiers (a direct student of Langton), and later canonists to apply only to tithes based on land. As Richardson has amply shown, numerous estates came into Jewish hands as security for loans. Churches dependent on these lands could not relinquish the income because they were temporarily in Jewish hands. Hence Jews should pay tithes from their lands, but not from their personal gains. Such an explanation does not show churchmen to be tolerant in the modern sense.

University of Michigan

JOHN W. BALDWIN

CASTLES AND CANNON: A STUDY OF EARLY ARTILLERY FORTIFICATIONS IN ENGLAND. By *B. H. St. J. O'Neil*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xix, 121. \$4.80.) This study, published after the author's death and covering the period from Richard II's reign through the seventeenth century, traces the evolution of English artillery fortifications against the background of diplomatic and military history and in the context of more general developments in European military architecture. Although thoroughly familiar with the relevant documentary material, the author's greatest contribution stemmed from his intimate knowledge of the castle sites themselves. As a result of his mastery of both historical and archaeological evidence, O'Neil presented technical and detailed descriptions of individual castles without neglecting the general political framework out of which they emerged or the broad evolutionary tendencies which they illustrated.

University of California, Santa Barbara

C. WARREN HOLLISTER

CHARTES ET DOCUMENTS POITEVINS DU XIII^e SIÈCLE EN LANGUE VULGAIRE. Volume I. By *Milan S. La Du*. [Archives Historiques du Poitou, Volume LVII.] (Poitiers: Société des Archives Historiques du Poitou. 1960. Pp. vi, 392.) These medieval, vernacular documents were originally collected for linguistic purposes. All date from the thirteenth century, and all are localized in the Poitevin area. To ensure their conservation, the editor has wisely prepared them for publication since he was amazed at the number of documents of this type that were transcribed in an unpublished eighteenth-century collection for which originals can no longer be found. The editing of the 237 items is meticulous. The documents include testaments, acts of gift, exchange, and sale, arbitral awards, and even a fragment of a tax register. They give valuable evidence on the social and economic life in one province of thirteenth-century France.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

CYRIL E. SMITH

THE STONELEIGH LEGER BOOK. Edited by *R. H. Hilton*. [Publications of the Dugdale Society, Volume XXIV.] (Oxford: the University Press for the Society. 1960. Pp. lxiii, 292.) The Stoneleigh Leger Book, written about 1392 by Thomas Pype, a former abbot of Stoneleigh Abbey, is a valuable document for the study of medieval agrarian history. Clearly Pype's intention was a registration of the documentary evidence of the possessions and privileges of the monastery. The book also contains a summary statement of the court procedure and customs of the manor of Stoneleigh and a rental and survey of the lands and tenants of the manor. The book was used by Vinogradoff, who was mainly interested in the definition of legal status of the different classes in rural society, to support his theories of the origin of the special conditions on

manors of the ancient demesne. In his excellent introduction Dr. Hilton indicates that the unpublished returns for Warwickshire of the *Rotuli Hundredorum* of 1280 show a predominance of free tenure, whether the manors were of ancient demesne or not, and it was not, as Vinogradoff suggested, a preservation of Anglo-Saxon freedom, but was a consequence of the extension of the cultivated area in the old woodland of Arden in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Of great interest is Hilton's comparison of the information available from the inquiry of 1280 with the evidence of the Leger Book, a comparison made possible by the fact that the extant Warwickshire returns include all the places in the rental which comprises the second part of the Leger Book. Knowledge of population growth, concentration of holdings, and the legal and social status of different groups is advanced. The author concludes his introduction with a topographical survey giving some idea of the nature of the field system in the Stoneleigh manors and provides a table of undated charters with suggested dates, three detailed indexes of persons, place and field names, and subjects, and an outline map of the Stoneleigh Abbey estate.

Western College for Women

ISABEL R. ABBOTT

CURRENTS OF MEDIAEVAL THOUGHT WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GERMANY. By *Michael Seidlmayer*. Translated by *D. Barker*. [Studies in Mediaeval History, Volume V.] (Oxford, Eng.: Basil Blackwell. 1960. Pp. vii, 175. 25s.) Not being ungrateful to Dr. Seidlmayer for the efforts that went into this section of his work *Weltbild und Kultur Deutschlands im Mittelalter*, or to the translator, Dr. Barker, for making possible its appearance in the form of this little book, I find it difficult, however, to be patient with this hurried, undigested, and somewhat befuddled reduction of so much learning to so little space. The book reveals how much we need to know about the German Middle Ages (especially its vernacular literature and later humanistic thought), and it helps us with a running bibliography. But Seidlmayer's willingness to be a miniature encyclopedia, his devoted subjection (a common professorial fault) to the *Handbuch* tradition, reduces many of his paragraphs to lists of names (page 35, listing the figures of the Carolingian Renaissance, or page 124, listing the writers of didactic literature), or to short summaries of whole systems of thought or individual points of view (pages 148-49, on Nicholas of Cusa, or pages 167-68, a succession of short paragraphs on German humanists). The attempt to squeeze in almost everything forces him to accompany his names with appropriate tags or telling quotations, to ladle out encomia with requisite authority, and to resort for interpretation often to the banal phrase and a periodization of archaic flavor. There are many firsts and many greats, many greater thans and greatestes of all, many things that can or cannot be equaled, and many with or without parallel. Isidore of Seville is "one of the greatest encyclopaedists of all time." Nicholas of Cusa is "the most brilliant German thinker of the Middle Ages"; Hildegard of Bingen, "the greatest German intellect" of her century. What can it mean to be told that Bishop Marbod of Rennes heralds "a new epoch" or that the Romance peoples were "fired with enthusiasm for progress in the most diverse fields." How, without even a picture, are we to understand a "law of retrospective implementation" when it accepts "a completely impressionistic, decorative style of Hellenistic origin," and finished up "with an almost mystical expressionism"; a style "(archaic . . . of bold lines and masses) of a kind unique in the history of Western art right down to our own days"? Should we really be asked to tolerate such phrases as "Humanism was a product of its age"; "In architecture the development from Romanesque to Gothic took place," or "the numbers of active participants in culture increased"? Must we continue to respect hackneyed words about how "the curtain came down on the

Middle Ages . . . the scene changed. New forces and centres appeared; new nuclei took shape," and, "Although still deep in the Middle Ages, 'modern man' was advancing onto the state"? At times Seidlmayer tries to channel his turbulent currents into a mainstream of competing humanistic and ascetic forces. Or he switches the metaphor and refers to the Middle Ages as a "mighty process of breathing in and breathing out." Do we not, without being impossible perfectionists, have to beg him to do better by our ignorance and lack of understanding?

Brandeis University

EDGAR N. JOHNSON

Modern

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

THE TRUCK SYSTEM, INCLUDING A HISTORY OF THE BRITISH TRUCK ACTS, 1465-1960. By *George W. Hilton*. (Cambridge, Eng.: W. Heffer and Sons. 1960. Pp. ix, 166. 21s.) This is a short, exhaustive, and well-written account of the British truck system from the fifteenth century to the present. The bibliography is complete. No minor aspect of the legislative history or the economic history of payment in kind for wages has been omitted. A rewriting of the history of the system should be unnecessary for a long time. Hilton maintains that the system held the workers to their employers, thus keeping a labor force together for the truck masters. It died out when changing conditions of employment and the development of the Industrial Revolution forced alterations in employer-employee relations. It was never affected greatly by legislative reforms (always passed after a depression) or by the most important piece of legislation, the Truck Act of 1831. Benthamite reform principles did not work in this instance.

Purdue University

ROBERT B. ECKLES

SIR THOMAS ELYOT, TUDOR HUMANIST. By *Stanford E. Lehmborg*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1960. Pp. xv, 218. \$4.75.) This is the first full-scale biography of the author of *The Boke named the Governour*. Professor Lehmborg has searched out the scanty manuscripts, made a careful study of Elyot's printed works, examined the monographs, and come up with an authoritative and well-written account of this Tudor popularizer of humanism. The result will not enhance Elyot's reputation for political acuity or literary originality. It is one of the merits of Lehmborg's account that it presents Elyot coolly, with no attempt to overblow him, but the book should interest both the social and the intellectual historian. The author stresses the point that Elyot sprang not from "the commercial classes, without feudal connections," like Colet and More, but from "the enlightened gentry, trained in the law, accustomed to help govern their country," and he presents a wealth of genealogical evidence to prove it. Elyot was too bookish to make a successful ambassador and not creative enough to become a great writer. But he served honestly and usefully as sheriff and as justice of the peace, and he felt an honest and useful urge to share with his countrymen the "frutes of his study" in the wisdom of the ancients on education, health, and government. Elyot was the most successful vulgarizer of classical culture in early Tudor England. The image of the man that emerges from the books and documents is hazy. Elyot's portrait by Holbein, which is reproduced here, is of "a man staring sadly and dreamily into space," sober and serious, open and well meaning, perhaps a trifle dull. In religion he was a priest hater and an Erasmian reformer who could swallow the royal supremacy and

angle for monastic lands, but who sympathized with Catherine and detested Protestant doctrine. One often wishes the documents were fuller. Like many biographers whose materials are thin, Lehmborg frequently offers conjectures about the veiled meaning behind his subject's printed words. All in all, this is a first-rate study of a significantly second-rate figure.

Princeton University

E. HARRIS HARBISON

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CONSTITUTION, 1688-1815: DOCUMENTS AND COMMENTARY. By *E. Neville Williams*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1960. Pp. xvi, 464. Cloth \$9.50, paper \$4.95.) When "much of the British constitution notoriously exists only in the minds of men," historians may not be in complete agreement about it. Any editor of a collection of constitutional documents is likely to follow a principle of selection that grows out of his interpretation of the constitution. Williams' principle is clear enough. He is attempting "to give an idea" of the constitution as it is "seen by historians today," and, of course, in their understanding of Parliament, ministers, crown, and parties in the eighteenth century, historians have been strongly influenced by Namier's teachings. The operation of this principle particularly affects the second and third sections of Williams' book, which concern the central government and Parliament. Inevitably this collection resembles and in part duplicates other recent ones like the three volumes of *English Historical Documents* which pertain to Williams' period or the two volumes published in 1952 by W. C. Costin and J. Steven Watson. The duplication is almost complete on the Revolution of 1688. The documents illustrating local government and religion make up the freshest portion of the book; the remaining chapter, on liberties of the subject, offers nothing unusual. Williams derives most of his documents from readily available printed sources. Generally he presents the constitution in its political aspects, thereby missing an opportunity to break with tradition by illustrating the administrative side of constitutional history. The collection will be useful mainly because it is published in a single volume.

University of Kentucky

CARL B. CONE

BISHOP AND PRESBYTERY: THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, 1661-1688. By *Walter Roland Foster*. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the Church Historical Society. 1958. Pp. 182. 25s.) This very significant little book will substantially alter the prevailing view of the religious history of Scotland during the Restoration. Mr. Foster points out that in 1660 religious opinion was deeply split and that the revival of episcopacy was not unpopular with large numbers of people, especially among the aristocracy. The presbyterian nonconformists among the clergy were a sizable minority—perhaps one-third—but still a minority. They were concentrated in the southwest, and this is where the government had its greatest trouble. The armed uprisings of 1666 and 1679, however, were easily put down; as Foster says, they "failed to secure support among the nobility or to attract many of the common people." Elsewhere in Scotland the revival of episcopacy caused little trouble. The presbyterian system was not destroyed. The bishops were fitted into the existing structure as the presiding officers of the diocesan synods, but the bulk of the administrative and disciplinary chores was still handled by the presbyteries, the composition of which was changed by the exclusion of laymen and by the kirk sessions. Parish life and church services were virtually unaltered. The service was still conducted according to the Knoxian *Book of Common Order*. The ordinary parishioner would notice very little change after 1660; except in nonconformist areas even the minister would be the same. What doomed

Scottish episcopacy was not its unpopularity with the majority of people, but rather the loyalty of the bishops to the cause of the fugitive James VII. In his effort to redress the balance, Foster, an American Episcopalian, occasionally goes too far; he is much too charitable to Sharp, for instance. But his meticulous study clearly shows that there was a substantial synthesis between what have generally been regarded as two competing forms of church polity. Perhaps now the ghosts of Habakkuk Mucklewrath and his kind can be permanently laid to rest.

University of Illinois

MAURICE LEE, JR.

JOHN MILLAR OF GLASGOW, 1735-1801: HIS LIFE AND THOUGHT AND HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS. By *William C. Lehmann*. [Publications of the Department of Social and Economic Research, University of Glasgow. Social and Economic Studies, Number 4.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1960. Pp. xvi, 430. \$10.00.) This expensive book consists of an edition of Millar's *Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* and of excerpts from his other writings, chiefly the *Historical View of the English Government*. These are preceded by a lengthy introduction in which Professor Lehmann, a sociologist with a long-standing interest in Millar, sketches his life, which was not exciting (he was professor of civil law at Glasgow from 1761 to 1801) and his thought, with emphasis on Millar's position as one of the founders of sociology, to which Millar came from his concern with the social implications of the workings of the law. Millar was a substantial thinker who deserves rescue from the semioblivion into which he has fallen. Lehmann has done that and given him an honorable place, though not in the first rank, in that remarkable movement which was the Scottish Enlightenment.

University of Illinois

MAURICE LEE, JR.

GEORGE III: THE STORY OF A COMPLEX MAN. By *J. C. Long*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1960. Pp. x, 372. \$6.00.) The continuing reaction against the so-called Whig interpretation of eighteenth-century English and American history has led, among other things, toward a more favorable estimate of George III. J. C. Long, whose sympathies are clearly Whiggish, strives to bring that monarch to life and also to do him justice, with some success. This biography is not a magisterial work based upon the most profound researches, but a pleasant book by an intelligent and very well-read author who has examined many of the contemporary documents as well as later writings about the King. Long brings forward the King's good qualities, including his courage, his relative broad-mindedness with respect to religion, and his domestic loyalty. He cannot quite find George to have been either genuinely competent or exemplary in the conduct of public affairs. Had the King been reared to reign rather than to rule, he would doubtless have been a very respectable figure. Not surprisingly, Long has a low opinion of Bute; rather oddly, he offers a very favorable estimate of George's father. On the whole, Long's portrait of George III is doubtless representative. Need remains for an exhaustive biography written by a scholar relatively free of Whig or Tory bias.

Duke University

JOHN R. ALDEN

MARSHALLS OF LEEDS, FLAX-SPINNERS, 1788-1886. By *W. G. Rimmer*. [Cambridge Studies in Economic History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1960. Pp. xiii, 341. \$7.50.) The great firm of Marshall and Company was built by the energy and acumen of John Marshall (1765-1846). The founder's sons, though conscious of their heritage, allowed the firm's relative position to decline, through per-

sonality clashes, lack of attention, and unimaginative traditionalism. Periodic efforts at improvement were too late or insufficiently drastic, and in 1886, seeing the trouble only in external factors they tried inadequately to cope with, the grandsons ceased production. Dr. Rimmer calls the firm "an industrial dinosaur of the Darwinian Age." For the economic historian, this book is full of useful and important detail about manufacturing processes, labor supply and policy, finance, and management, material that Rimmer skillfully makes interesting to more general readers, a rare accomplishment needing only an appendix describing flax manufacture to guide the nonspecialist through an often technical vocabulary. In its tangential concern as family biography, there are a few weaknesses. The relationship of John Marshall to Bentham, Benthamites, and their ideas is rather invoked inaccurately than analyzed, but this fault is mitigated by the realization that Rimmer had no useful guides, for nearly everything written on this question is careless or polemical. Again, his manifest and justified admiration of the founder is occasionally qualified by Hammond-like complaints of self-serving rationalization which seems to suggest an unwillingness to go a final step toward understanding the framework of ideas within which Marshall (and many others) inescapably operated. This failure is the more regrettable as the author's exposition of the intellectual style of Marshall's time and class is otherwise so convincing. The abundant illustrative materials are provocative in other directions than that Rimmer so effectively takes. Exciting to read through, the book will be a regular resort of historians of many aspects of Regency and early Victorian society. It may too provoke some pointed reflections about the more recent history of British industry.

Columbia University

R. K. WEBB

THE LETTERS AND JOURNALS OF SIMON FRASER, 1806-1808. Edited with an introduction by *W. Kaye Lamb*. (Toronto: Macmillan Company; distrib. by St Martin's Press, New York. 1960. Pp. 292. \$6.50.) This volume provides more than the title suggests. Besides Fraser's letters and journals covering his travels and explorations in 1806-1808, it contains a collection of papers concerning his later years, a bibliography, and an excellent introduction. In short, the editor has done the most thorough job possible of making a great explorer known to modern readers. Fraser is fairly described as "the most neglected of the major explorers of Canada," and the neglect is perfectly understandable, for few men can ever have made more useless explorations. His purpose in going down the Fraser River to the sea was not scientific, but practical. The North West Company of Canadian fur traders wanted a good water route to the Pacific Ocean; all Fraser found was a route on which, as he put it, "no human being should venture." But his courage in carrying out his assignment was not less because the river was extraordinarily dangerous to navigate. The book will interest local western historians, those concerned in fur trade history, those with a fondness for tales of adventure, and anthropologists, for Fraser observed closely and well Indians whom no white man had seen before. The editing is meticulous.

University of Manitoba

RICHARD GLOVER

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN COVENTRY. By *John Prest*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 152. \$3.40.) A study of the conversion of an industry to power-driven machinery with the resultant quickening pace of production is always welcome. This history of the fancy silk ribbon industry in the city of Coventry between 1830 and 1865 is no exception. The changes occurring in the industry between these years may rightly be described as an industrial revolution. As late as 1830 the industry reflected the organization of a previous age, consisting of a small group of

master manufacturers who purchased the raw silk and marketed the finished product, and a much larger number of hand loom weavers, men of some substance in the community. The industry was protected, permitting the masters and the weavers to develop the "list," an enumeration of prices to be paid per piece to the weaver, high enough to insure him an adequate wage. The factory with its steam-driven machinery, though opposed by the weavers, was introduced into Coventry in the 1840's and 1850's. With the factory came increased production, the disassociation of the master from the weaver, the use of unskilled labor, weekly wages, and the like. The weaver's economic and social position was obviously weakened, and, in an attempt to retain his old status, he placed an increased emphasis upon the retention of the "list." He refused to work in the factory as an unskilled laborer and tried to compete with it by introducing a small steam loom into his home. This curious innovation was called the cottage factory. During the late 1850's the factory worker and the cottage factory owner made common cause in an attempt to force the masters to retain the "list." In this they were temporarily successful. The cost, the growing antagonism between worker and employer, was high. In 1861 these worsening labor relations were reflected in a general strike of all weavers. Unfortunately this action was taken at the very time the British government repealed the duties on fancy silk ribbon, and while weaver fought factory owner in Coventry, the French captured the English market. As a result, both weaver and owner were ruined. The author writes well and presents the reader with a wealth of detail, varying from a minute description of the cottage factory to a number of diagrams of the streets of the city of Coventry. It is disappointing that a diagram of the small cottage factory power loom is not included. This work is based primarily on the writings of George Eliot and other contemporary observers. Extensive use of the sessional papers and local newspapers has been made. There is no bibliography.

University of South Carolina

CHARLES W. COOLIDGE

LUGARD: THE YEARS OF AUTHORITY, 1898-1945. THE SECOND PART OF THE LIFE OF FREDERICK DEALTRY LUGARD, LATER LORD LUGARD OF ABINGER, P.C., G.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O. By *Margery Perham*. (London: Collins; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1960. Pp. xix, 748. \$8.00.) Biography is a dangerous medium for historical scholarship. The total picture of change in human society can easily be distorted by concentration on a single individual. The surrounding world can fade into a misty backdrop for the "hero." A biographer necessarily must associate with his subject and his works over a period of years. It is only natural to identify with him, and some degree of sympathy is indeed essential. If it is pushed too far, we no longer see the man in relation to his times. We see only the times as the man himself saw them. Margery Perham has escaped none of these pitfalls in the second volume of her life of Lord Lugard, and yet it is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of British policy toward Nigeria. It is largely based on the voluminous correspondence of Lugard to his wife, Flora Shaw, and filled out through Miss Perham's own collaboration with Lugard in the 1930's. It is therefore based on intimate personal records and on the memories of a younger, and admiring, co-worker. Perhaps this is one reason why the work never quite materializes as a historical study. Not that Miss Perham does not try to stand off from time to time and look critically at the proconsul; she does, but when she does, she measures him by the standards of his own time, place, and class. Instead of seeing Lugard's activities in Nigeria as part of the larger impact of the West on a series of African societies, she sees Nigeria as an administrative problem to be solved. We are shown in detail how the solution had to be sought within the political and social setting of early twentieth-century Britain, but there is very little

depth to her treatment of African society. The effect is vaguely patronizing toward Africans, and they will be justifiably annoyed. The information that recent scholarship might have provided is missing. The Fulani of Nigeria, for example, are represented as "Hamites," a race superior to the other Africans and "wholly non-negroid." Some of them, moreover, had "declined" by mixing racially with the "true Negroes." Both the confusion of racial and linguistic distinctions and the facile assumption of a hierarchy of superior and inferior races were typical of African scholarship thirty years ago. It is too bad to see these myths living on. It is also too bad that Miss Perham missed her opportunity to show how some of these same myths led Lugard to adopt policies that ultimately failed. Serious as these matters are in any assessment of Miss Perham's work as objective scholarship, they by no means destroy its real and lasting value. In many ways, this is the autobiography that Lugard himself never wrote.

London, England

PHILIP D. CURTIN

BROWN OF THE GLOBE. Volume I, THE VOICE OF UPPER CANADA, 1818-1859. By J. M. S. Careless. (Toronto: Macmillan Company; distrib. by St Martin's Press, New York. 1959. Pp. viii, 354. \$6.50.) A scholarly biography of George Brown, nineteenth-century Canadian journalist, businessman, and politician, has long been needed. Previous works on Brown, few in number, are totally inadequate. Professor Careless, using many sources not hitherto available, has filled the gap to 1859 and plans to complete the story to 1880. The subtitle indicates that the work extends over forty-one years. Actually all but twenty pages cover from 1843 to 1859. Moreover the pages are tightly packed. The result is more than a life of Brown; it is also a solid political history, rich in fresh appraisals of the various groups and parties in Canada, particularly of the Clear Grits. Incidentally Careless provides a good account of political journalism, when during the forties and fifties not only each party but often each section of a party had its own organ. In addition the author reveals a sound appreciation of the importance of railroads in the minds of Canadians and the economic and social results that grew from their building. Here and there he also gives a side glance at social conditions. Although Careless admits his subject's prickly spirit and impetuosity, the biography is definitely pro-Brown. But why should it not be? Inevitably a reader cannot help wondering how this biography accords with that of Brown's archrival, John A. Macdonald, by Professor Donald Creighton, published in 1952. The books are complementary, although here and there a reader is left wondering whether the two authors were writing about the same characters and events. A striking illustration is provided by the way in which each biographer handles the parliamentary committee to investigate Macdonald's charges against Brown's part in the penitentiary probe. The episode, climactic in creating "the deep-seated personal enmity" between Brown and Macdonald, is dealt with at length by Careless, yet is practically ignored by Creighton. The former is more generous with Macdonald than the latter with Brown. Still, for a well-rounded treatment of Canada in the mid-nineteenth century a student must read both biographies.

University of Western Ontario

JAMES J. TALMAN

THE GROWTH OF CANADIAN POLICIES IN EXTERNAL AFFAIRS. By Hugh L. Keenleyside et al. [Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center Publications, Number 14.] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press for the Center. 1960. Pp. x, 174. \$5.00.) This symposium of papers presented at the 1959 Summer Seminar of the Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center will interest Canadians and should enlighten Americans. Keenleyside observes: "Canadians take much more interest in international affairs than is common in the United States" and are less inclined than

Americans to "see everything in black or white—or red," and he gives some cogent reasons for this difference. One is that active Canadian participation in foreign affairs is a novel "and rather exciting experience." Not until 1909 did Canada have a Department of External Affairs, and then only because a senior civil servant had labored single-handedly for years to get it established. The well-documented account of this achievement is set forth by James Eayrs, and it reflects the indifference of the Canadian public at that time. The next two papers deal with external affairs during World War I and the period 1931–1939. Surprisingly there is no mention of Colonel Dziuban's thorough study of Canadian-American cooperation in that war, and the intervening decade is discussed only casually in other papers. There is no reference to Borden's prophetic 1915 statement in London that "the dominions must have a voice in foreign policy. . . . or each of them would have a foreign policy of its own." Likewise ignored is Borden's obtaining the agreement of the American and British governments, announced in May 1920, that Canada should have a resident minister of her own in Washington, and the significant delay of such an appointment until 1927. These are the most serious faults I have found in this excellent book. By far the longest paper (in French), by Professor Bergeron of Laval University, deserves special attention, for it is the most original. Its thesis is that French Canada, a fundamental factor in Canadian external affairs, has made a swift transition from provincialism to internationalism without passing through the intermediate stage of Pan-Canadianism. Also worthy of particular attention are Edgar McInnis' discussion of Canada as a middle power in the cold war and Gaddis Smith's note on selected readings.

University of Manitoba

A. L. BURT

EUROPE

GINEVRA E L'ITALIA: RACCOLTA DI STUDI PROMOSSA DALLA FACOLTÀ VALDESE DI TEOLOGIA DI ROMA. Edited by *Delio Cantimori et al.* [Biblioteca Storica Sansoni, New Series, Volume XXXIV.] (Florence: G. C. Sansoni. 1959. Pp. x, 769. L. 8,000.) The faculty of the Waldensian Seminary in Rome presented this volume concerning the relation of the Italians to Geneva throughout four centuries to the University of Geneva on the occasion of its four-hundredth anniversary. Four articles deal specifically with the Waldensians and Geneva in the successive periods, two with individual Italian refugees in Geneva during the Reformation, Gentile and Ochino, one with sixteenth-century Italian religious refugees in London who were in intimate touch with Geneva, and three with distinguished Genevans descended from the first Italian Protestant refugees, the Turretini, Burlamacchi, and Sismondi. The Cavour brothers are included by virtue of an Italian mother. Relations of Italian localities to Geneva receive treatment in the cases of Sicily and Piedmont, from which two thousand religious refugees found asylum in Geneva. Savoy is treated in connection with the *Escalade*. Ideas receive notice in a comparison between the views of Calvin and the Italians on religious liberty. Cantimori deals with the preface supplied by the Italian translator of Calvin's treatise on the Nicodemites—Protestants in Catholic lands who did not declare themselves openly, but like Nicodemus came to Jesus only by night. Why Voltaire finds a place here is not clear. Perhaps it is because he abetted the infiltration of Socinian influence into Geneva. Spini's article is of special interest for Americans and invites comment. It deals with Italian influence, via Geneva, in Puritan New England. Spini gives a fascinating account of the Italian works in the library of the Elder Brewster, in the early libraries of Harvard and Yale, and in other depositories. In my opinion the role of Geneva as the direct transmitter was less direct than that of the German Swiss

and Rhineland cities. At Yale the first library had less theology from Geneva than from Zurich, Bern, and Strasbourg, and, of the two most influential Italian theologians, Vermigli spent his last years at Zurich, and Zanchi was active at Strasbourg and Heidelberg. This qualification does not, however, detract from a very instructive article and an enlightening book.

Yale University

ROLAND H. BAINTON

'T UYTGAEN VAN DEN TREVES: SPANJE EN DE NEDERLANDEN IN 1621. By J. J. Poelhekke. [Historische Studies uitgegeven vanwege het Instituut voor Geschiedenis der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, Number 15.] (Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1960. Pp. 200. Fl. 12.50.) In 1621 the Twelve Years' Truce in the war between the republic of the United Provinces and the Spanish monarchy was due to expire. That war was resumed until 1648 was not ineluctable necessity but the result of acts of commission and omission on both sides of the frontier. Poelhekke, who shares Geyl's "Great Netherlands Idea," finds his particular hero in Archduke Albert, the not quite "sovereign" of the southern Netherlands, who sought to keep the land at peace. Albert failed, however, in his objective because neither Madrid nor The Hague was willing to pay the price of continued peace, the abandonment of cherished objectives, and each counted too confidently on a quick victory of arms. The special interest of this work lies in the skill and perspicuity with which Poelhekke examines a side issue, the abortive contacts between the two sides with the aim of a compromise peace. He uses a wide range of materials, especially Italian (reflecting his advantages as director of the Netherlands Historical Institute in Rome), and Belgian and Spanish archivalia in order to examine with great subtlety the state of official and "public" opinion, not only on the question of the "running out of the Truce," but also on the lingering sense of a "common fatherland" of the Low Countries. This monograph, which finds much in little, is worthy of the tradition of Fruin and Geyl.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

HERBERT H. ROWEN

STUDIEN ZU DEN SCHWEDISCH-RUSSISCHEN BEZIEHUNGEN IN DER 2. HÄLFTE DES 17. JAHRHUNDERTS. Volume I, DIE DIPLOMATISCHEN BEZIEHUNGEN ZWISCHEN SCHWEDEN UND MOSKAU VON 1675 BIS 1689. By Klaus Zernack. [Osteuropastudien der Hochschulen des Landes Hessen, First Series. Giessener Abhandlungen zur Agrar- und Wirtschaftsforschung des europäischen Ostens, Part 7.] (Giessen: Wilhelm Schmitz. 1958. Pp. 183. DM 14.80.) This work by Dr. Klaus Zernack is the first portion of a study of relations between Sweden and Russia in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The general introduction begins with the Middle Ages. Chapters on Sweden, Moscow and the European war, the relations to 1684, and then to 1689 follow. Several appendixes treat related subjects. The volume began as a doctoral dissertation and shows some of the faults that frequently attend a first effort. Zernack used the printed Russian material, the German material, and the Swedish archives. In the Swedish archives, however, too much reliance is placed on the Moscovitica; the work would profit by greater attention to the Livonica, Polonica, and the various collections describing Danish diplomatic action. If later portions of the study are to be authoritative, the scope of material consulted must be widened. Zernack adheres to the attitude of Hjärne and Schiren that Sweden did not develop a coherent Russian policy. He shows in what ways her German possessions tied her to a pro-French behavior and how the possibilities of an early Scandinavianism were not developed. There is a clear account of the internal pulling and hauling at Moscow complicated by Turkish attack and Polish enmity. The point is made that, from 1684 on, the

young Czar Peter was educated in an anti-Swedish direction by his mother's family. Emphasis is also placed upon the Swedish *Reduktion* of the 1680's which increased the power of the crown, broke the higher nobility, and modernized economy and government. It ruined the native military leadership, however, and cut all the ties that half a century had created between the Swedish army and the supply of mercenaries available on the Continent. Parts of this study are valuable, but it must be used with caution until future segments of the treatment make the wider relationships more clearly visible.

University of Southern California

FRANCIS J. BOWMAN

BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS AND MODERN GREEK HISTORY, 1801-1960 [in Greek]. By *Eleutherios G. Prevelakis*. [*Hellenica*, Supplement 13.] (Salonica: Periodikon Ellenika. 1960. Pp. 89.) One of the problems facing the historian of modern Greece is that official governmental sources frequently are scanty, depending on the region and period involved. This is why it is so often essential to supplement Greek sources with those in foreign capitals. So far as the history of Chios is concerned, Philip Argenti has done much to meet this problem by unearthing and publishing several volumes of relevant documents from various European archives. But in most cases it remains necessary to consult foreign materials in their respective archives. The author of this competent and useful monograph has sought to ease the way for future Greek researchers who might wish to utilize British sources. He is exceptionally well qualified for his task, having published the definitive study of *British Policy Towards the Change of Dynasty in Greece, 1862-1863*. In the first chapter Prevelakis describes the over-all purpose and organization of the British Parliamentary Papers, as well as their indexes and catalogues. The second chapter is concerned with Parliamentary Papers in the broader sense of the term, including nonparliamentary publications, unpublished materials in the archives, private letters, and confidential print. The third and final chapter enumerates specifically the materials relating to modern Greek history in Parliamentary Papers and nonparliamentary publications. There is also an appendix illustrating how a dispatch from Lord Crowley in Paris on September 12, 1852, concerning the Holy Places, was published in abstract form in the diplomatic Blue Books.

Northwestern University

L. S. STAVRIANOS

VOSTANIE 1863G I RUSSKO-POLSKIE REVOLIUTSIONNYE SVIAZI 60-KH GODOV [The Rebellion of 1863 and Russo-Polish Revolutionary Connections in the '60's]. Edited by *V. D. Koroliuk* and *I. S. Miller*. (Moscow: Academy of Sciences Press for the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Institute of Slavonic Studies. 1960. Pp. 727. 30 rubles, 80 kopecks.) The approaching centennial of the Polish insurrection of 1863 has aroused lively interest in the subject not only in Poland but also in the Soviet Union. This is not surprising since the insurrection spread to Lithuania and Belorussia and produced a strong impact in Russia. According to Soviet historians this was not simply a struggle for national liberation, but an antifeudal movement as well. And while the insurrection failed to achieve the first goal, it dealt a deadly blow to feudalism. A joint Polish-Soviet project is under way to publish a vast multivolume collection of documents scattered in the archives of the two countries. The Slavic Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences has also begun the publication of a series of volumes of shorter studies and materials. This volume is the first in the series. It consists of four parts. The first part containing five articles opens with a significant piece by A. F. Smirnov on the Belorussian *Muzhitskaia Pravda*; V. A. D'iakov and O. P. Morozova contribute

"materials for the biographies" of Zygmunt Sierakowski and Bronisław Szwarc; T. G. Snytko writes on the students' movement in the Russian universities in the early 1860's; and G. F. Fedosova discourses on the first attempts by Paweł Majewski to translate Chernyshevskii's *Chto delat'*? The second part contains a detailed survey of the content of four important archival sources: the papers of F. F. Berg, the executioner of the rebellion and the viceroy of Poland; the correspondence between Berg and the War Minister D. A. Milyutin; the papers of the Princes Cherkasskii; and the papers of V. A. Artsimovich. The third part includes a long list of the members of the revolutionary movement in the Russian army in 1861-1863, with their biographical data, and several documents on the Russo-Polish revolutionary connections in Siberia in 1864-1866. Finally, the fourth part consists of two long book reviews. The book is of interest, as a source of materials, to a specialist only.

Northern Illinois University

ZYGMUNT J. GASIOROWSKI

THE SAAR CONFLICT, 1945-1955. By *Jacques Freymond*. With a foreword by *John Goormaghtigh*. [Case Studies of International Conflicts. Published under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, European Centre.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1960. Pp. xxviii, 395. \$10.00.) While Stalin methodically reduced Central-Eastern Europe to satellite status after 1945, French statesmen more hesitatingly attempted to separate the Saar from defeated Germany and to bind its economy to their own. But the Saar was not to remain a satellite. The French attempt to make the Saar an autonomous state within the framework of the European Coal and Steel Community was repudiated at the polls on October 23, 1955, when 67 per cent of the Saar's electors voted against such a settlement. In 1956, the year Hungarians unsuccessfully fought to escape from Russian control, France for the second time since 1918 conceded the right of the Saar to return to Germany. This book reviews the French failure step by step and discusses the forces that frustrated French designs. As in the 1930's the Church and the trade-unions were major factors in the revival of German nationalism in the Saar. Moved by nationalistic Socialist criticism, but largely unruffled by it, Konrad Adenauer with quiet and patient skill facilitated the failure of the French while gracefully opening exits for them from the Saar. Soviet pressures in Europe, meanwhile, strengthened Adenauer's hand by making it necessary for France to cooperate with Britain and the United States, and causing all three to cooperate with West Germany. All important aspects of the story emerge from this volume's matter-of-fact narrative and analysis. This is history with all the vital juices squeezed out. From the author's cautious prose it is not easy to tell, for example, whether or not Johannes Hoffmann was "a tool of French policy" (he was). Some other matters do not readily come into focus here because Freymond assumes specialized previous knowledge on the part of the reader. But this is, with all its literary drabness, a valuable study. It is doubtful that a more objective report on this subject can be written fifty years hence and even more doubtful that the bibliography compiled by Freymond and his team of research assistants can then be matched.

Tulane University

JOHN L. SNELL

PRIX DES CÉRÉALES EXTRAITS DE LA MERCURIALE DE PARIS (1520-1698). Volume I, 1520-1620. By *Micheline Baulant* and *Jean Meuvret*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Monnaie, prix, conjoncture, Volume V.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1960. Pp. 250.) The meat of this book consists of 210 pages of grain prices extracted from the papers of the Châtelet, now deposited in the Archives Nationales. The *mercuriale* (grain price quotations) had its

origin in an ordinance of 1439, which required the sealers of weights and measures (*jurés mesureurs*) to report the prices at which grain was sold on the markets of Paris. The object of the legislation was to furnish the basis for fixing the maximum price of bread. The *mercuriale* reports the prices of wheat, rye, barley, and oats. In their brief introduction the authors answer satisfactorily the questions historians should ask concerning the reliability of the data. Since bakers were the principal buyers, one might suspect an upward bias in the prices reported by the *mesureurs*, but a dependable control is found in the numerous transactions not involving bakers. The homogeneity of the data can be checked by the more or less consistent references to the quality of the commodity, for example, "best wheat." A significant change occurred in the measure employed for oats, but the magnitude of the change is clearly documented. From 1520 on, two *mesureurs* at the Halles market and two at the Grève were required to report the prices of the four grains every Saturday. Some of the *mercuriales* are missing, but enough quotations are available for constructing monthly and annual series for 1520-1620, excepting the harvest year 1556-1557. Converted into *livres tournois*, the annual averages show a minimum price for a *sestier* of the best grade of wheat of 1.51 livres in 1526-1527 and a maximum (eleven-month average) of 39.91 livres in 1590-1591. The amplitude of the fluctuations in prices of rye, barley, and oats is somewhat less extreme. In the present volume, however, the authors' interests center on price movements in times of dearth. Weekly quotations—maximum and minimum for wheat and rye, maximum for barley and oats—are furnished for nine two-year periods of *disette* in the sixteenth century. What emerges is a picture of recurrent famine in all grains: when wheat was scarce, barley, rye, and oats were also rationed by high prices. Presumably a second volume will continue the price series to 1698, although it is observed in passing that the seventeenth-century data are not as good as the sixteenth. I assume, too, that in the second volume the authors will compare the results of their work with the findings of other price historians, Hauser in particular.

Duke University

ROBERT S. SMITH

THE RESISTANCE TO THE MARITIME CLASSES: THE SURVIVAL OF FEUDALISM IN THE FRANCE OF COLBERT. By Eugene L. Asher. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LXVI.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 142. \$3.00.) In this little book, Eugene Asher set out to examine the system of naval conscription employed in France during the reign of Louis XIV. He aimed to concentrate on resistance to its application in the southern provinces, Provence and Languedoc, between 1665 and the early 1690's, though he does in fact introduce much evidence from the Atlantic seaboard. The system of conscription, according to Asher, was "Colbert's attempt to introduce a bit of Cartesian order into the method of recruiting crews for the fleet." In this, and in his other allusions to "Cartesian" ideas, Asher has been misled, in my opinion, by historians who have unjustifiably attached a "Cartesian" label to Colbert and to his administration. But Asher does demonstrate that conscription, Cartesian or not, was thwarted by many individuals, groups, and factors apart from the seafaring "draftees" themselves, including captains, admiralty officers, and a large number of other special interest groups. He attempts to assess the influence of these varied opposition elements and to compare their influence with that of the supporters of conscription. But in so doing he is again snared by a "label"; he classes resistance to maritime conscription as "feudal" resistance, and uses that term in his subtitle, though most of the resistance had no apparent connection with feudalism as that term is usually defined. One of the obstacles to the success of Colbert's conscription program would appear to have been the small size of the seafaring population in

France, a problem that conscription actually aggravated by encouraging emigration and population movement within France. In Asher's opinion, though, this factor can be discounted. Credit is due to Asher for digging into the archives in Paris and the provinces; he also deserves credit for an effort to get beyond the mechanics of the conscription system. But the strength of his effort has pushed his generalizations beyond his evidence, and the book is marred by a preoccupation with the supposed need for revision. As a contribution to the study of French maritime history, the book has merit, but as a contribution toward reversing "an unjust and unwarranted condemnation" that unnamed historians are supposed to have inflicted on Colbert and the age of Louis XIV, the book is not persuasive.

University of Minnesota

PAUL WALDEN BAMFORD

LE SENTIMENT DE LA NATURE ET LE RETOUR À LA VIE SIMPLE (1690-1740). By *Geoffroy Atkinson*. [Société de publications romanes et françaises, Number 46.] (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz; Paris: Librairie Minard. 1960. Pp. 89. 8 fr. S.) For a long time the prevailing criticism of the Enlightenment was that it was a frigidly rational movement incapable of feeling or conveying passion. In recent years the inadequacy of this view has become patent (although it is still much alive), and subtle rescue operations have taken the place of crude oversimplification. Probably the most adroit of these operations is the invention of "Pre-Romanticism," a category that carefully collects all evidences of sentiment, feeling for sunsets, respect for emotion, and, instead of using them to enrich the definition of Enlightenment, treats them as timid anticipations of romantic movements which somehow "overcame" the shortcomings of eighteenth-century rationalism. This notion, too, may be wearing thin, and if it is ever to be given a decent burial, Atkinson's monograph may claim some of the credit. His conclusion, supported by numerous and helpful quotations from relatively inaccessible authors, is inescapable: "The rationalist movement and the sentimental movement developed at the same time." In his modest, brief, and gracefully written study, Atkinson traces the growth of feeling for the outdoors and the desire for simplicity in minor authors writing between Racine and Rousseau. Novelists like Prévost and poets like J.-B. Rousseau restored external nature to respectability. While the classicists of the seventeenth century had moved their majestic figures through stylized interiors, eighteenth-century writers were not ashamed to pause over a sunrise or shudder at a storm, and, by the 1730's, they could even glorify a return to nature. Atkinson does not suggest that this was a great age of lyricism. Indeed, much of the nature writing was sentimentality without sentiment, but the descriptions, which soon turned into effusions, at once reflected and shaped the taste of a growing reading public, less concerned with aristocratic restraint and royal conflicts than with dramatic adventures lit up by dramatic surroundings. Atkinson argues that the Christian could not consider external nature (the world of storms, earthquakes, and droughts) as a beneficial force. It was an enemy, or at best a precarious blessing. I suggest that this offers a clue to what has been called Enlightenment optimism (and would far better be called its confidence): it was based not on a positive notion of nature, but on the growing sense that it could be known and controlled by science. In the Enlightenment, then, men could afford to enjoy nature because they were beginning to draw its fangs; in this, as in so much else, the romantics were but the ungrateful sons of their philosophic fathers.

Columbia University

PETER GAY

UN RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE FRANC-COMTOIS: PIERRE-JOSEPH BRIOT. By *Maurice Dayet*. [Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, Volume XXXIII. Cahiers de l'Institut d'Études Comtoises et Juraissiennes.] (Paris: Les Belles Lettres. 1960.

Pp. 150.) The career of Pierre-Joseph Briot of Besançon followed the zigzag course of the French Revolution: he was first a youthful and ebullient provincial leader with Girondist leanings; then a zealot of the Terror; then, after Thermidor, simultaneously a suspect and a high official of his *département*; later, under Napoleon, one of the chief administrators of Elba and Italy, where he was very likely the founder of the *Carbonari*, and, finally, a Parisian financier, after the Restoration. Dayet's purpose in this brief essay (augmented with many supporting documents) is simply to assemble and interpret some of the most important materials on the first decade of Briot's political activity. He does that well enough. He has followed Briot's trail through a variety of archives, pamphlets, speeches, and memoirs and has offered plausible interpretations of the pivotal episodes in Briot's public life. As biography or as analysis of provincial politics, the study leaves more to be desired since it offers neither a comprehensible account of Briot's character nor a careful description of Besançon's major factions. Dayet has, nevertheless, ably illustrated the problem of the provincial politician during the Revolution: to have his choices of opinions and alliances dominated by Parisian events he could not control and to lag far enough behind the capital as to often find himself holding positions that had already become inexpedient, or even dangerous.

University of Delaware

CHARLES TILLY

L'ALSACE AU DÉBUT DU XIX^e SIÈCLE: ESSAIS D'HISTOIRE POLITIQUE, ÉCONOMIQUE ET RELIGIEUSE (1815-1830). Volume III, RELIGIONS ET CULTURE. By Paul Leuilliot. [Bibliothèque générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1960. Pp. 532.) With this third volume Leuilliot completes his study of Alsace during the Restoration period. In Alsace, "one is religious . . . people are Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish." The author, therefore, devotes more than three-fourths of this volume to religious history. He discusses in greatest detail Catholicism, the religion of two-thirds of the Alsatians. The problems of the Catholic Church during the Restoration period were both old and new. From the Old Regime it inherited the controversy between Gallicans and ultramontanes, and from the more recent past, the quarrel between the majority of Churchmen who supported the Bourbons and the minority who, according to the former, had compromised with the Revolution or with Napoleon. One-third of the population, a large minority in Catholic France, was Protestant. The Protestants fought constantly to maintain their rights in a state that recognized Catholicism as the official religion and that tended to question their loyalty to the regime. Although they were a small minority in Alsace, almost half of the French Jews lived here. During the Restoration, as in the Old Regime, many Jews engaged in moneylending or in other pursuits that gained them the enmity and contempt of their neighbors. Enlightened Jewish leaders and public officials hoped that education, including vocational education, would turn the Jews to other occupations. Most of the remainder of the volume is on the educational system, where, again, the religious problem is to be found. The author also discusses the difficulties arising from the lack of a common language. Only a minority of the population knew French. This work has both the virtues and the defects of the previous volumes. The bibliography of almost 140 pages (for all three volumes) attests to the great scholarly effort represented. But once more the reader is overwhelmed with far more detail than seems necessary. Leuilliot tends, also, to neglect the substance of the intellectual and theological controversies of the period, while describing at length institutional history and problems. Finally, he uses the term "culture" in a quite limited sense. We would like to know more about how the Alsatians lived and what they thought.

San Jose State College

DAVID I. KULSTEIN

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS (1871-1914). First Series (1871-1900). Volume XVI (18 NOVEMBRE 1899-30 DÉCEMBRE 1900). [Ministère des Affaires Étrangères: Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre de 1914.] (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1959. Pp. xli, 626.) This volume has a significance apart from its contents. The latter are interesting enough, particularly the private letters from Barrère to Delcassé on Franco-Italian rapprochement and the far-sighted analysis by the military attaché at St. Petersburg of how the German General Staff might take advantage of slow Russian mobilization to strike a crushing blow at France. Also of note are the documents showing the great power response to the Boxer uprising, in which connection the student of American foreign policy may be a bit chagrined to find Hay's second Open Door note dismissed in a footnote on page 310. The great significance of the volume is found in one brief sentence at the end of the introduction: "With the publication of this volume the Commission for the publication of documents relating to the origins of the war of 1914 has completed the work which, in 1928, it was called upon to undertake." The response to this quiet report of "mission accomplished" can only be a ringing bravo for a task well done in the face of protracted and enormous difficulties. Indeed, if the scholarly audience would applaud long enough, perhaps it might even elicit an encore in the form of a new series of *documents diplomatiques* on the origins of the war of 1939. In this connection it is worth recalling that Briand in 1928 was closer to the outbreak of the First World War than we are today with respect to the end of the second great conflict. Admittedly, official documentary historiography has its own peculiarly painful problems, for every government in every decade, but its long-term value is profound, especially for the world that intends to remain free.

Washington, D. C.

WILLIAM M. FRANKLIN

THE CONSEIL D'ÉTAT IN MODERN FRANCE. By *Charles E. Freedman*. [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, Number 603.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 205. \$5.00.) Monarchical and Napoleonic in origin, the *Conseil d'État* has remained one of the principal institutions in the bureaucracy of republican France. The present study, after a brief historical sketch, examines in detail the structure, functioning, and institutional development of the *Conseil* in the years since the adoption of its modern organic statute in 1872. Its two distinctive functions, to serve as technical counselor in the preparation of statutes and decrees and as court of highest jurisdiction in matters of administrative law, are explored. The advisory role of the *Conseil* in the preparation of parliamentary bills, the author observes, has remained relatively small although various indirect and not easily ascertainable influences are noted. In the formulation of executive decrees and regulations, the *Conseil* has been increasingly active, most notably since the constitutional extension of its powers in this area in 1945. By far the most important role of the *Conseil*, however, has been its judicial function as protector of the citizen from illegal governmental and administrative action. In that capacity it has served as a type of administrative court which has no precise equivalent in Anglo-American government and which once filled eminent legal commentators like Dicey with considerable apprehension. Yet in its jurisprudence, Freedman convincingly demonstrates, it has been overwhelmingly favorable to individual rights and civil liberties and, moreover, has successfully maintained full independence from executive interference. On the social and economic impact of the *Conseil* in other matters, the present monograph might have been strengthened. It is well known that under the Third Republic it was a favorite whipping boy of the Left, which accused it of impeding and sabotaging social legislation. The author hedges in his conclusions

here, telling us no more than that the *Conseil* "stayed relatively in tune with the times." The democratized basis for recruitment with the creation in 1945 of the *École Nationale d'Administration* has served to blunt the relevancy of these charges for the present *Conseil*, yet the historian would be interested in the validity of the earlier accusations. As a record of the origins and institutional development of the *Conseil*, and as a technical assessment of its jurisprudence, this is an illuminating survey; the full contribution of the *Conseil* to the public life of modern France deserves continuing exploration.

Duke University

JOEL COLTON

PAUL CAMBON: MASTER DIPLOMATIST. By *Keith Eubank*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1960. Pp. xiii, 221. \$4.00.) This is a full-length account of Cambon's long and varied career as a French diplomat, from his initial appointment (1882) as resident minister at Tunis to the close of his twenty-two-year term of service as ambassador to the Court of St. James's (1920). Although proper attention is paid to Cambon's role in the formation of the Tunisian protectorate and to his subsequent efforts to strengthen his country's diplomatic position vis-à-vis Germany while serving as ambassador to Madrid (1886-1891) and to Constantinople (1891-1898), the greater part of this study is devoted to Cambon's conduct as ambassador in London after his arrival there in 1898 and to his part in the creation of the *Entente Cordiale*. The book is based on an unusually narrow range of printed materials, particularly on the three volumes of Cambon's *Correspondance* and the official *Documents diplomatiques français*, primary sources that are utilized in an uncritical manner. Eubank also relies heavily on Henri Cambon's *Paul Cambon* (1937). Very little use is made of unpublished materials or even of contemporary French and British newspapers and periodicals. Studies of various aspects of Cambon's career by Fleuriau, Hallmann, and Ling have not been utilized, while such standard works on pre-1914 diplomacy and the origins of World War I as those by Fay, Schmitt, and Renouvin are not cited in the text or included in the bibliography. Little information is provided concerning either Cambon's early outlook and attitudes or the development of his mature views and policies. The Cambon that emerges from these pages lacks dimension; he does not come alive as a personage. More importantly, the book does not add significantly to what had already been known about Cambon's role in the creation of the *Entente Cordiale*. This is not surprising for, as Eubank notes, much of what Cambon "said and did in London was the result of conferences in Paris of which no record is available." The documentation is not always adequate, and the many orthographic errors suggest that the proofreading may have been done hastily.

City College of New York

AARON NOLAND

THE EMERGING STATES OF FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA. By *Virginia Thompson* and *Richard Adloff*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 595. \$8.75.) The latest work by Richard Adloff and Virginia Thompson follows the plan of their earlier survey of the former French West Africa. The first half is a description of political institutions as they functioned in the last years of French rule. The second half contains an outline of politics and administrative policy in each of the four territories between about 1945 and 1959, with occasional flash backs to the interwar period. It is not really a work of history, but it is welcome, if for no other reason than because nothing else is available in English and very little in French. It will be most useful to historians as a work of reference, but in this connection it has certain shortcomings. Its faults are those expected of a compendium buttressed by field interviewing.

Some sections based on good published research are very good. In other sections the authors have not used their authorities critically, and there is a high incidence of inaccuracy. This tendency is most marked in the historical sections. Furthermore, the French rather than the African aspect is foremost. The authors' orientation is very much that of a liberal French administrative official. Those unfamiliar with French literature may find this a fresh point of view, but they will also be confused by the failure to translate certain proper names, such as "Ouaddai" into "Wadai" or "Peulh" into the more familiar "Fulani." The volume is more nearly a work of competent journalism than of authoritative scholarship.

London, England

PHILIP D. CURTIN

LE RÉVEIL DES NATIONALISMES: LA NOUVELLE ÉVOLUTION DU MONDE. By P.-J. André. Preface by René Pinon. (Paris: Éditions Berger-Levrault, 1958. Pp. 464. 1,500 fr.) The author of the present book is a general in the French army who has spent his life in the colonial service and who has written a number of books on the various countries in Asia Minor and in Africa where he had a long and distinguished career of service. In addition he published several volumes of poetry and novels. André writes well, but as a work of scholarship his book is rather sketchy. It represents a strange mixture of a semimystical missionary French nationalism and a semimystical humanitarian idealism. The point of view of the book is well expressed by the two introductions, one by Pinon, the other by the author himself. Pinon writes: "Le livre du général André met en lumière toutes les nuances et parfois les contradictions des mouvements arabes qui, pour le moment, sont surtout dirigés contre la France et ce que les Américains leur ont sottement appris à appeler le 'colonialisme' comme si ces peuples ne devaient pas d'abord à la France leurs progrès essentiels. . . . En Europe, commence à se faire jour la conviction profonde qu'entre américanisme et soviétisme, il existe une forme de vérité qui peut donner satisfaction aux aspirations de la civilisation occidentale, se servant de la machine et de l'industrialisation sans y être asservie, formule basée sur le divin précepte de l'Intuition divine." Similarly André is convinced that the future of mankind depends upon a Eurafrica under the leadership of France which would be a third force between the United States and the USSR, the two materialist giant powers which wish to impose their "economic law" on the world. He distrusts the United States and Britain and seems convinced that they work against the true interests of France, Europe, and humanity. The book contains much, though rather strangely selected, information on the new nationalisms in Africa and Asia. As a guide to their history, it will not serve, but it will give the reader an interesting insight into the way in which a number of Frenchmen think today. It is a noble way of thought which has more to do with a half religious and half nationalist idealism than with present-day reality.

City College of New York

HANS KOHN

THE JOURNAL OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS. Translated by Cecil Jane. With an appendix by R. A. Skelton. (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., Publisher. 1960. Pp. xxiii, 227. \$7.50.) This new, illustrated edition of Cecil Jane's translation of Columbus' Journal of his First Voyage is revised and annotated by Dr. L. A. Vigneras. Over twenty years ago, in the *Hispanic American Historical Review* (XIX [Aug. 1939], 235-61) I observed that Cecil Jane's was the least faulty English translation of Columbus' Journal and pointed out some of his numerous mistakes; all these have been corrected here. Vigneras has also adopted my identifications of places, but I am afraid I will embroil me with my Cuban friends by misprinting my description "anvil-shaped" of

El Yunque (page 207) as "evil-shaped"! The appendix by Dr. Skelton on the cartography of Columbus' First Voyage is a real contribution, especially his description of the manner in which mappemondes were compiled in Columbus' day. And he has valuable remarks on Henricus Martellus, on the Columbian prototype postulated by Almagià, and the La Cosa and Cantino mappemondes. A translation of Columbus' Spanish letter on the First Voyage is also included. The volume is lavishly but carelessly illustrated. Pictures of ships captioned as caravels more often than not are of other types, and the attributions are sometimes vague or erroneous. The drawings of Columbus' ships (pages 55 and 121) are copied from Bertram Greene's drawings in my *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, without permission or acknowledgment. But there are some beautiful colored reproductions of details on early maps. By a curious lapse in bookmaking technique, no page numbers are given in the lists of colored illustrations and maps at the beginning. In short, this is the best available English translation of Columbus' Journal, but not good enough to cause me to abandon my purpose of publishing the translation that Professor Jeremiah D. M. Ford helped me to make in 1940.

Boston, Massachusetts

S. E. MORISON

CORRESPONDANCE DE PHILIPPE II SUR LES AFFAIRES DES PAYS-BAS. Part 2, Volume IV (1592-1598). By *Joseph Lefèvre*. (Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, Commission Royale d'Histoire. 1960. Pp. xxiv, 536.) This imposing volume, containing summaries of 1,469 documents covering Philip II's reign from the beginning of 1592 to his death in the fall of 1598, concludes a project begun over a century ago with L. P. Gachard's publication in 1848 of the first volume of the correspondence (1558-1576). In 1940 Joseph Lefèvre published Volume I of Part Two (1577-1580) and now, twenty years later, this fourth and final volume. It covers the close of the Duke of Parma's regime, the rivalry of Mansfeld and Fuentès, the ill-fated year of Archduke Ernest, the interim of Fuentès, and the three closing years under Archduke Albert of Austria. The nine volumes together contain analyses of about fifteen thousand documents.

Stanford University

LEWIS W. SPITZ

PORTUGUESE IN SOUTH-EAST AFRICA, 1600-1700. By *Eric Axelsson*. [Publication of the Ernest Oppenheimer Institute of Portuguese Studies of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.] (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 226.) This work is the result of research and collecting of documents effected since 1936 in Portugal, London, Paris, and Rome. With his appointment in 1955 as research officer of the Ernest Oppenheimer Institute of Portuguese Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, he was enabled to intensify and widen his research. This is, therefore, a work that was carefully prepared and documented in the course of years of investigation, as revealed by its wealth of footnotes. The book aims at describing the activity of the Portuguese in Southeast Africa during the seventeenth century, from the Cape of Good Hope to the equator, especially emphasizing the white settlement and relations between the Portuguese and indigenous populations. Axelsson, however, preferred to give us a mere record of events, bare of comment, apart from a few final generalizations. If, on the one hand, this methodological attitude made possible a thorough use of printed material and manuscripts, on the other hand, it deprived the reader less conversant with African, Asiatic, and Portuguese subjects of a general outlook and analysis of the complex political, military, and economic problems of the seventeenth century. In some chapters we sometimes sense a lack of balance between objective research and the need of a critical or interpretative perspective. For its

descriptive nature, original documentation, and good marshaling of subjects, this book renders a valuable service to students of Portuguese and African history.

University of Lisbon

VIRGINIA RAU

PRELUDE TO EMPIRE: PORTUGAL OVERSEAS BEFORE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR. By *Bailey W. Diffie*. [Bison Book Original.] (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 127. \$1.95.) This book gives a general interpretation of Portuguese overseas experience before the conquest of Ceuta (1415), the starting point of Portuguese expansion beyond the limits of Europe. The author describes how the institutions and techniques that prepared the way for Henry the Navigator and the age of the great discoveries were evolved. In nine clearly and precisely written short chapters are condensed the main historical events from Roman times to the Portuguese thrust into North Africa in the early fifteenth century. Because of his profound knowledge of Portuguese and foreign bibliography, Diffie studies the sudden expansion of medieval Portugal and shows that it was not only Portugal's maritime contacts and trade but also sundry political and military junctures that impelled Portugal toward the sea. Thus, in the first two chapters he deals with the problem of Portugal's geographical situation and shows how her territory served as a crossroads where cultures mingled; next came Viking seafaring, the crusades, the Reconquest, and the formation of the Portuguese kingdom. In the five following chapters, he stresses the importance of trade, of the port cities, of the alliances, and of Portuguese legislation and culture up to 1383. In the last two chapters, he analyzes John I's coming to power (1385), the Anglo-Portuguese alliance, the development of shipping and commerce, the preparations for and the conquest of Ceuta. This book makes pleasant reading and is adequate not only for specialists but also for students interested in the origins of Portuguese overseas expansion.

University of Lisbon

VIRGINIA RAU

SUOMEN KREIVI- JA VAPAAHERRAKUNNAT. Volume II. By *Mauno Jokipii*. [Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, Volume XLVIII, Number 2.] (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1960. Pp. 352.) The first volume of this doctoral study of twenty-nine earldoms and baronies in Finland during the years 1569-1681 was published in 1956 (see review, *AHR*, LXIV [Oct. 1958], 171). This second and concluding volume explores the fiefs' relations to the crown and to the towns and inhabitants within their jurisdictions, describing in rich detail the judicial, military, ecclesiastical, and educational institutions found in them. A detailed list of feudal officials is included in the appendix, and there is a short German-language summary. The bibliography is restricted to titles not listed in the first volume. Of Dr. Jokipii's many interesting conclusions there is space here only to cite a few. The feudal lords seldom left Sweden to visit their holdings in Finland and relied on sundry officials to manage their affairs. These officials were drawn from many walks of life, but they came rather quickly to regard themselves as constituting a distinct social class. Taxes levied on the populace provided most of the income, and as a consequence considerable attention was given to measures designed to maintain the taxpaying capacity of the peasants. While relations between the lords, the feudal officials, and the subjects were generally satisfactory, friction was not unknown. In at least three fiefs organized rebellion against feudal rule took place.

Heidelberg College

JOHN I. KOLEHMAINEN

THE UNDEFEATED NATION. By *Adolfs Blodnieks*. (New York: Robert Speller and Sons. 1960. Pp. vi, 312. \$6.00.) This is a lively, well-written story of the Latvian

nation. Covering the last sixty years, it is presented in the form of memoirs by a prominent Latvian statesman. Blodnieks' eventful life has been directly associated with almost every important development in the long, adventurous struggle of the Latvian nation for its independence from Russian, German, and Bolshevik domination. The future politician was only sixteen when he was imprisoned for the first time for his participation in the bloody revolution of 1905. Blodnieks was an organizer of the famous Latvian Rifle Brigades, a member and afterward a prisoner of the Moscow Soviet, an organizer of the Latvian nationalist resistance movement, an original member of the Latvian Constituent Assembly, leader of the influential Latvian Party of New Farmers and Smallholders, an important member of the Latvian Parliament, and the last Prime Minister in the democratic phase of the republic of Latvia. He fought for the democratic ideals and freedom of his country in the Latvian resistance movement against the Nazi and Bolshevik occupation of his homeland. He is the present leader of the Committee for a Free Latvia in the United States. Blodnieks here devotes much space to the events leading to Latvia's proclamation of independence and to the present situation. Especially interesting is the crucial period of 1933 and 1934 during which Blodnieks was the Prime Minister. He contributes valuable information, but leaves much untold. He does not explain why many of the highly nationalistic Latvian Rifles suddenly started to support the Bolshevik regime in Russia. Somewhat disturbing is his tendency to mention many names of his acquaintances at the end of the book. This is a valuable and interesting contribution to the neglected field of Baltic history.

San Jose State College

EDGAR ANDERSON

ERINNERUNGEN UND ERÖRTERUNGEN. By *Karl Kautsky*. Edited by *Benedikt Kautsky*. [Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der deutschen und österreichischen Arbeiterbewegung, Number 3.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1960. Pp. 586.) This is Karl Kautsky's personal account of his road to Marxism. It was written, except for a short appendix from 1921, between September 1936 and his death in October 1938. The story, which in this volume ends with the founding of *Die Neue Zeit* in 1883, may be followed to 1895 in the recent publication of Kautsky's complete correspondence with Engels, *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), also edited by his son, Benedikt Kautsky. As a source for both the Austrian and German socialist movements between 1875 and 1883, the memoir is of historical value, for Kautsky worked from his carefully collected papers and correspondence. After a detailed history of his ancestry and childhood, which fills one-third of the volume, Kautsky weaves together two main themes: his search for a career and the path that led him to Marxism. Influenced by his artistic but bourgeois parents, he aspired to a career in the arts, but with meager results. The Paris Commune first aroused his interest in socialism. The narrative of his life after 1875, when he joined the Austrian socialist movement, is enriched with sketches of his comrades. Of special interest is his treatment of the wealthy Karl Höchberg, who financed much of Kautsky's early writing. Kautsky reveals how conscious and proud he was that he joined the socialist movement as a university intellectual and how foreign to him were the practical concerns of the working-class members. There is even a touch of arrogance in his repeated assertions that none of his socialist associates, except finally Engels, contributed anything to his theoretical development. The theoretical discussions help to characterize the intellectual milieu which was the basis for Kautsky's understanding of Marxism. Probably most significant, Hegel was on the periphery, but Darwin was at the center. Kautsky first formulated a concept of history from Darwin. How this affected his Marxism has recently been suggested in a penetrating analysis by Erich Matthias ("Kautsky und der Kautskyanismus," *Marx-*

ismusstudien, II). Readers of Kautsky's memoir may become impatient with his laborious attention to minutiae, but with that they will also find an informative source for the beginnings of German Marxism.

University of California, Berkeley

VERNON L. LIDTKE

FROM HISTORY TO SOCIOLOGY: THE TRANSITION IN GERMAN HISTORICAL THINKING. By *Carlo Antoni*. With a foreword by *Benedetto Croce*. Translated by *Hayden V. White*. (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 1959. Pp. xxviii, 249. \$4.50.) Hayden White is to be applauded for his introduction of Carlo Antoni to the English-reading audience, and he is to be admired for the sensitivity with which he has conveyed the intellectual precision and excitement of Antoni's writing. Perhaps better known to historians of Germany for his later *La lotta contro la ragione*, Antoni published in 1939 the collection of essays on which White's translation is based. Certainly *La lotta* merits English translation (it already has a German one), but White's decision to undertake *Dallo storicismo alla sociologia* was wise, for its German version is less available and its topic of more general interest. Antoni writes, in this work, *sub specie aeternitatis*, and it is as fresh and relevant today as when it was first written. Indeed, if White's calculated rendering of "storicismo" as "history" (because of the ambiguity that now beclouds the term "historicism") goes beyond Antoni's explicit issue, it does underline the universal implications of that issue. The book comprises discrete essays on six Germanic philosophical historians between the late nineteenth century and the present—Dilthey, Troeltsch, Meinecke, Max Weber, Huizinga, and Wölfflin. Coherence is established by parallel treatments. The analysis of each figure takes the form of an internal drama between the acknowledgment of historicism, that is, the temporality of all human activity, and the attraction to a conceptual framework which would give it meaning. In each case the subject sought to escape from his dilemma by recourse to one or another version of typology. For Antoni, this retreat from historical into sociological categories emphasizes rather than resolves their intellectually tragic dualism, since the "type" suspends history without achieving genuine human meaning. Antoni's passion endows his subjects with vibrancy without sacrificing profundity. As White indicates in his preface, Antoni's inspiration is Crocean, and his assumptions are specified in White's fine sympathetic introduction on the relation of Croce to historicism. As every historian knows, the test for preconceptions is not their intrinsic quality but rather how they work for the particular writing of history. In Antoni's case they work very well, for they sponsor insights into both the particular figures and into the common problem of the school which can be found nowhere else. But for those readers who, like the reviewer, cannot rest in Croce's integral idealism as a living faith, Antoni's portraits will seem out of focus. This tribute must be paid Antoni: the discussion now rests at the point to which he has brought it, and when it is resumed, it must be taken up at the point where he has left it.

Yale University

LEONARD KRIEGER

GEGEN BAJONETT UND DIVIDENDE: DIE POLITISCHE KRISE IN DEUTSCHLAND AM VORABEND DES ERSTEN WELTKRIEGES. By *Kurt Stenckewitz*. [Schriftenreihe des Instituts für deutsche Geschichte an der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig, Number 6.] (Berlin: Rütten & Loening. 1960. Pp. 320. DM. 12.50.) Although this book is by a Communist who quotes frequently from Lenin, it is not without interest to students of pre-1914 Germany, for the author has had access to the German archives at Potsdam and Merseburg and is able to use letters of William II, Bethmann Hollweg, and others. There will be no quarrel with the thesis that Germany

was ruled politically by the nobility and aristocracy and economically by big business and that there was "a close connection between militarism, the state and the economy." While the Social Democrats possessed the largest representation in the Reichstag (110 out of 397 seats), they were "no longer a revolutionary party," for, being Revisionists, they rejected extraparliamentary action, revolutionary class warfare, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Even the *Kleinbürgertum* supported the existing order. The ruling classes were, nevertheless, increasingly afraid of the *Arbeiterbewegung*. Between 1910 and 1914 the cost of living increased by about 10 per cent, but wages did not keep pace, and consequently there was a steady increase in the number of strikes. Germany was also suffering from overproduction, so that in the last quarter of 1913 about 5 per cent of the work force was unemployed. According to the author, the miserable workers were becoming increasingly responsive to the idea of a general strike (*politischer Massenstreik*), which was rejected by the Social Democrats, but advocated by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. The authorities showed their alarm by militaristic propaganda through the *Wehrverein* and the *Jungdeutschland Bund*, organizations that were declared "nonpolitical" and therefore not subject to police supervision, whereas the trade-unions were branded "political" and watched by the police. In 1913 a General Gebtsattel, one of the leaders of the Pan-German League, was proposing a *coup d'état* to abolish universal suffrage for the Reichstag (the Social Democrats were pushing the fight against the three-class system of voting in Prussia), and others thought of war as the best way to break the power of the workers, as Bethmann himself admitted in 1914. The best chapter in the book is that devoted to Zabern, which was intended, according to Stenkewitz, as an example "in order to show the civilian population who was master of the state." When the *Statthalter* of Alsace-Lorraine appealed to the Kaiser's "wisdom and sense of justice" to stop the proceedings, William II recorded his entire approval of what had been done. The picture here drawn of Wilhelmine Germany is as savage as any presented in 1914-1918.

Alexandria, Virginia

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

DER INTERFRAKTIONELLE AUSSCHUSS, 1917-18. In two volumes. Compiled by *Erich Matthias*. With the assistance of *Rudolf Morsey*. [Quellen zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien. Erste Reihe: Von der konstitutionellen Monarchie zur parlamentarischen Republik. Volume I, Numbers 1 and 2.] (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1959. Pp. lxxi, 642; xv, 893.) To do justice within a very limited space to the significance of this publication for Germany's internal and foreign policy in 1917-1918 borders on the impossible. With these two volumes, the Commission for the History of Parliamentarism and of Political Parties has splendidly initiated a series of source publications on the last years of Imperial Germany, illuminating the transitional period between (approximately) the *Daily Telegraph* crisis of 1908 and the acceptance of the Weimar Constitution. Closely cooperating with the Bundesarchiv it has made a decisive contribution for all future studies on the development of the parliamentary system in Germany. The *Interfraktionelle Ausschuss* was an unofficial Reichstag committee that coordinated the views and policies of the "majority parties" (Center party, Progressive party, and Social-Democratic party) from July 1917 to September 1918. It provided a most important liaison with the Reichstag for the last chancellors of Imperial Germany. After the peace resolution the Reichstag could no longer be disregarded, and the *Ausschuss* served as a safety valve for public opinion muzzled by wartime censorship. On the basis of *Nachlässe*, in the first place of those of Eduard David, Mathias Erzberger, Conrad Haussmann, and Albert Südekum, of *Parteiakten*, and a small amount of *Amtliche Überlieferung* (such as files of the Prus-

sian State Ministry, the Reichskanzlei and the Geheime Zivilkabinett), the editors have reconstructed the discussions in an ingenious and painstaking manner. A wealth of detailed new information is offered on all problems of German policy: the relationship of Reichstag, Reichsleitung, and Supreme Command, occupation policies in the East, questions of foreign policy (the peace resolution, the Brest-Litovsk peace, the Kühlmann crisis), and so forth. By their references and explanatory notes the editors simultaneously give the quintessence of contemporary German newspaper comment and summarize and digest much relevant literature. The debt of gratitude to the editors and to Eberhard Pikart, the compiler of an elaborate seventy-page index, outweighs, but does not eliminate, certain doubts expressed by experienced reviewers that the editors, boldly pioneering and experimenting in editorial methods, outdid themselves by confusing the optimum with the maximum in this bulky publication.

Bonn, Germany

FRITZ T. EPSTEIN

DAS TAGEBUCH VON JOSEPH GOEBBELS, 1925/26. With additional documents edited by *Helmut Heiber*. [Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, Number 1.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. [1960.] Pp. 141. DM 7.80.) Some men are diarists by nature. But the factors moving this man or that to keep a record of his daily activities vary tremendously, and the value of these personal records varies at least as greatly. Among the high dignitaries of the Third Reich, Joseph Goebbels was most given to this form of self-expression. From his twelfth year, reputedly, Goebbels kept a diary, and sometimes more than one concurrently. Considering his role in Hitler's Germany, it is unfortunate that the great bulk of these papers disappeared in the liquidation of the Nazi regime in 1945. Such remnants as were found are now in the Hoover Library. The more obviously dramatic sections of the diaries, covering part of the war years, were edited and published by Louis P. Lochner in 1948. The importance of the current edition rests primarily on two points: revelation of evidence concerning Goebbels' own character and thought and material on the NSDAP in its formative years. The diaries of these years provide particularly valuable information on Goebbels the man since they cover a period before he had achieved secure prominence in the party, and, therefore, presumably before formal reasons existed for writing with one eye on a larger public. As the editor points out, the diaries reveal Goebbels' immense ability to deceive, not only others but himself. The diminutive evil genius that emerges from Lochner's editing of the war diaries hardly shows itself in these earlier entries. Instead we get a portrait of an immature young man of twenty-eight, psychologically insecure and very much involved with his own woes. The explanatory footnotes are uniformly excellent and are especially valuable in identifying the often nondescript figures who attracted Goebbels' attention but of whom nothing more is known, since they failed to achieve a lasting place of influence in the NSDAP. Like Lochner, but without the earlier editor's brisk self-righteousness, Helmut Heiber uses the footnotes to point out discrepancies between events as viewed in the diaries and as they appear in other accounts.

Alexandria, Virginia

MIRIAM HASKETT

VON DER WEIMARER VERFASSUNG ZUM BONNER GRUNDGESETZ: DIE VERFASSUNGSPOLITISCHEN FOLGERUNGEN DES PARLAMENTARISCHEN RATES AUS WEIMARER REPUBLIK UND NATIONALSOZIALISTISCHER DIKTATUR. By *Friedrich Karl Fromme*. [Tübinger Studien zur Geschichte und Politik, Number 12.] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1960. Pp. xii, 243. DM 24.) The collapse of Hitler's empire and the subsequent deadlock of the victors

gave the Germans in the Western zones a new opportunity to resuscitate their ill-fated liberal constitutional tradition. Above all, the members of the Parliamentary Council of 1948-1949 (which wrote the Basic Law) sought to avoid the structural defects that they believed had made possible the "suicide" of German democracy between 1930 and 1933. They also wanted written guarantees of the individual and group rights that Nazi tyranny had suppressed. Since these two preoccupations stemmed from the opposite evils of ultraweak and ultrastrong government, they sometimes proved incompatible. Fromme's work, a revised dissertation originally written under Professor Eschenburg, is a careful analysis of the influence that these two historical "lessons" exerted on the successive drafts of West Germany's Basic Law. The longest of the book's three parts examines the heart of the Bonn system: the formation and maintenance of strong parliamentary government. Such major innovations as the emasculated presidency, the "constructive" no confidence vote of the Bundestag, and the limitations on emergency powers are examined for their debt to pre-1945 experiences and ideas. The book's other two parts analyze the provisions for suppressing antidemocratic movements and for prohibiting such dictatorial hallmarks as "wars of aggression" and "Enabling Acts." The author acknowledges the greatest danger of his approach: overemphasis on constitutional structure to the detriment of other factors such as the political maturity of the public and the stability of the party system (the electoral law is outside this study). Fromme's book is readable, well organized, and amply documented. Its detailed indexes and bibliography enhance its value as a reference work. Since it is primarily a study of the specific historical lessons written into the Basic Law, it complements Klaus Revermann's recent work, while treating in greater detail one aspect of John F. Golay's book. We can only hope that the constitutional safeguards, whose origins Fromme so cogently traces, will never need to be tested.

Harvard University

THOMAS E. SKIDMORE

THE GERMAN PHOENIX: MEN AND MOVEMENTS IN THE CHURCH IN GERMANY. By *Franklin Hamlin Littell*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1960. Pp. xv, 226. \$3.95.) Addressed primarily to Protestant laymen in America, this is an intelligent "tract" utilizing historical data, but it is not an independent historical study. Of course, the historian will find some new materials here in a handy form, particularly on the *Kirchentag* and lay academy movement in post-World War II Germany. Essentially, however, Littell depends on his wide acquaintance with existing literature on the German churches' significant if belated resistance to Hitler. His message is sharply and clearly presented: American Protestants, especially laymen, must avoid the pitfall of "hyphenated culture-religions" into which German Protestants tumbled in 1933. He seeks to show the vigor of the lay religious revival in postwar Germany, to some extent as a model for Americans. Having chosen breadth rather than depth in presentation, he cannot really establish the connection between religious liberalism, immanentist theology, Biblical criticism, and comparative religion on the one hand and the initial if not fatal subservience of the German Protestants to Nazi pseudo religion on the other. Nor can he escape the charge of political naïveté when he expresses puzzlement that some of his wise resisters of 1933, including Niemöller, have chosen neutralism and resistance to atomic weapons rather than anti-Communism. The six loosely connected chapters were previously published in slightly different form in religious journals.

University of Nebraska

ROBERT KOEHL

"... GROSSHUNGERN UND GEHORCHEN." ZUR ENTSTEHUNG UND POLITISCHEN FUNKTION DER GESCHICHTSIDEOLOGIE DES WESTDEUT-

SCHEN IMPERIALISMUS, UNTERSUCHT AM BEISPIEL VON GERHARD RITTER UND FRIEDRICH MEINECKE. By *Werner Berthold*. [Schriftenreihe des Instituts für deutsche Geschichte an der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig, Number 7.] (Berlin: Rütten & Loening. 1960. Pp. 263. DM 12.50.) Berthold's book is a full-scale Communist attack upon the life and work of Gerhard Ritter, with Friedrich Meinecke's being distinctly denigrated to the role of lesser villain. The fact that Ritter should have been singled out for what can only be described as an attempt at character assassination constitutes a perverse testimony to his greatness. Berthold "exposes" him as a faithful spokesman of German "imperialism," a thought-killing category which embraces such diverse phenomena as hostility to the Versailles Treaty in the 1920's, collaboration with Nazism in the 1930's, conspiracy against Nazism in the early 1940's in so far as it was also anti-Communist, and approval of Adenauer's policy of European integration in the 1950's. Berthold has assembled a series of damaging quotations which appear to be generally authentic and not twisted out of context (as far as I could check them). Berthold admits, however, that Ritter dissociated himself from his earlier pro-Nazi views during the war and that he served as adviser on constitutional problems to Carl Goerdeler, the head of the anti-Nazi conspiracy (Ritter was in fact imprisoned by the *Gestapo* in 1944-1945). The author's explanation of this conduct is amusing in its naïveté. The second half of the book is a detailed "refutation" of what Berthold calls Ritter's "apologetic picture of German history." His major objection is that Ritter refuses to accept the "objective laws of historical development" discovered by Marxism and consequently continues to talk the "obscurantist-reactionary" language of Ranke and Dilthey. He specifically criticizes the historian for: explaining Luther in too purely religious terms; overpraising Prussianism; denouncing the French Revolution as the ultimate source of all modern evils including Nazism (thereby blaming a foreign force when the real culprits stand nearer home); paying too much attention to foreign policy and "great men," too little to the class struggle as waged by the proletariat; worshipping Bismarck as a "good European" and cool practitioner of *Staatsräson*; failing to understand the capitalist roots of pre-1914 German imperialism; and explaining Nazism as a revolt of the frustrated German lower classes rather than the manipulation of crafty Junkers and industrialists. There can be no question that Ritter can be legitimately criticized on some of these points and that much could be gained by criticism advanced in a reasonable and dispassionate manner. Of this Berthold is, however, completely incapable: his attack is couched in the worst Marxist jargon and relies upon frequent appeals to Marx, Engels, Lenin, and even that well-recognized historical authority, the resolutions of the Fifth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party held in July 1958. It is shabby to attack, as Berthold has done, the integrity of Ritter's character and the independence that has characterized the truly monumental work of this great historian.

Brown University

KLAUS EPSTEIN

THE AUSTRIAN MILITARY BORDER IN CROATIA, 1522-1747. By *Gunther Erich Rothenberg*. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Number 48.] (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1960. Pp. x, 156. Cloth \$4.00, paper \$3.00.) Along the southern rim of Croatia, Habsburg Archduke Ferdinand I at the outset of the sixteenth century created an unusual military zone, which survived in a modified form until finally dismantled by Francis Joseph. Set up principally as a shield against the armies of Islam, the district also served as a kind of sensitive antenna to warn of impending Ottoman invasions, and, as required, the troops stationed there were turned against discontented local aristocrats. A chain of fortifications, approaching eighty at the peak with Karlovac

(Karlstadt) as the headquarters, resembled facilities established by old Rome. For the most part, the colonists in the zone were Serbian refugees who clung tenaciously to their mother tongue and their Orthodox creed. However much neglected, they fought valiantly for the interests of Christendom and of the House of Austria, under alien commanders. Never very numerous, these folk, called *Grenzers* (Granicări), gave a good account of themselves during the prolonged duel between Cross and Crescent. This compact and deeply interesting monograph satisfies curiosity concerning political and military affairs in the border zone without revealing much about the social and cultural institutions of the *Grenzers*. Was there validity to the reputation of these mercenaries for ferocious criminality? A splendid bibliography, in which the major works are helpfully appraised, enhances the value of this learned study.

University of Rochester

ARTHUR J. MAY

DER JOSEPHINISMUS. Volume V, LOCKERUNG UND AUFHEBUNG DES JOSEPHINISMUS, 1820-1850. By *Ferdinand Maass*. [Fontes rerum Austriacarum, Part 2, Diplomataria et acta, Volume LXXV.] (Vienna: Verlag Herold for Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Historische Kommission. 1961. Pp. xx, 774. Cloth Sch. 320, paper Sch. 295.) Maass's final volume of documents and text on Josephinism has as its theme the gradual surrender of the principles of a state-dominated Church to the idea of a freer Church in an empire that increasingly feared radical nationalist and social pressures. It is dedicated to the Catholic Church in Austria, and its heroes are distinctly not the Josephinian bureaucrats and independent bishops who worried Metternich and whom Leo Thun and Franz Joseph finally contained. The author is quite fair to Hofrat Jüstel, whose fear of ultramontanism yielded slowly to a recognition of the utility of a sympathetic understanding between the papacy and the Austrian Foreign Office. His treatment of Archbishop Milde of Vienna, a fussy prelate whom Pius IX hoped to unseat, is less convincing, for Milde's message to his clergy when the Revolution of 1848 broke out seems quite sensible to me and not the work of a frightened neutralist. The chapters of the narrative proper concern Emperor Franz I's countenancing of negotiations after his trip to Rome in 1819 and the long battle of opinions and dispatches concerning theological textbooks, the status of the Jesuits, the question of mixed marriages, and the nature of liaison between Rome and the Austrian bishops. Maass has completed an able study, based on a generous collection of documents.

Washington and Lee University

WILLIAM A. JENKS

BRIEFE. Volume IV, ERSTE JAHRE DES HISTORISCHEN ORDINARIATES IN BASEL, ERSCHNEINEN DER "CULTUR DER RENAISSANCE IN ITALIEN" UND DER "KUNST DER RENAISSANCE IN ITALIEN," APRIL 1858 BIS ENDE 1867. By *Jacob Burckhardt*. Edited by *Max Burckhardt*. (Basel: Benno Schwabe & Co. Verlag. 1961. Pp. 455. 26 fr. S.) Jacob Burckhardt's letters are among the most significant *documents humains* of the last century; they are reflections of an exceptional man who, from his vantage point at the meeting place of German, French, and Italian culture, combined the historian's insight into the past with the keen analysis of the political and social forces of his own age and their uncanny potentialities. Volume IV of this correspondence contains the letters written by him in his forties, when he was permanently established at the University of Basel and when, with the refined epicureanism of the detached observer of world affairs, he began to enjoy his dual status as burgher of his city-state and its most renowned teacher and scholar. The author of the *Civilization of the Renaissance* appeared busy and satisfied with his professorial

duties, with academic lectures and informal discussions with friends. At the same time he continued to be attracted by projects for future research such as Greek cultural history. Many ideas of his later *Reflections on World History* were anticipated in his correspondence of this decade. Rooted in the cultural and human traditions of the Alamanic area, he looked with dismay at the increasing Prussianization of its German sector, and he stressed the tragedy of a situation in which the smaller states, most genuine embodiments of *Alteuropa*, had only the choice between domination by Napoleon's France or Bismarck's Germany. As a sincere conservative, Burckhardt reserved his most sarcastic remarks for his politicizing German colleagues, once liberal and loudly celebrating the Schiller centennial, and then joining the Prussian band wagon, and for the citizen-subjects of the new industrialized superstate with their ideals of bigness, security, speed, and comfort. Instead, he expressed the resigned happiness of a man sure of himself and his station in life, teaching at a university of scarcely 120 students, with his books and notes, with his weekends in the lovely wine-growing surroundings, and his occasional trips to France or to "the country of frescoes and chestnuts." While some of the letters reveal his increasing reserve and withdrawal from easy contacts, others maintain his old humane and witty liveliness, such as those written to his nephew, Jacob Oeri (the later editor of the *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen* and the *Griechische Kulturgeschichte*). As in the previous volumes, the editor has added many explanatory notes and has included some of Burckhardt's contemporary architectural drawings, proof of the great scholar's artistic abilities.

Kansas Wesleyan University

FELIX M. WASSERMANN

I PERIODICI POPOLARI DEL RISORGIMENTO. Volume I, IL PERIODO PRERISORGIMENTALE (1818-1847); LA RIVOLUZIONE; Volume II, IL DECENNIO DI PREPARAZIONE (1850-1859); I PROBLEMI DELL' UNITÀ (1860-1870). Edited by *Dina Bertoni Jovine*. [Collana di periodici italiani e stranieri, Number 2.] ([Milan:] Feltrinelli Editore. 1959. Pp. cxcī, 806; 706. L. 12,000 the set.) "Once upon a time," says Magascià, "paper was a rare and precious thing," but nowadays who could take the trouble to look at papers, whether for the government or against it? Silone's carter just did not realize how his forefathers had been bombarded with paper "once upon a time." He would be appalled to heft these two huge volumes of selections, not to speak of a third, yet to come, which will merely catalogue everything omitted in these. Of the seven hundred or so popular periodicals known by the editor to have appeared between 1818 and 1870, she has settled on only 159 to be represented in this anthology, but we clearly understand from her long and excellent introductory essay that there was a massive assault on the feeble reading ability of the lower classes. Since the poor and illiterate masses were not themselves the originators of these papers, we can agree heartily with the editor that they tell us more about the educated middle and upper classes than the public they are supposedly addressing. It is not only the style of the writing, usually refined and often condescending, that bears this out but overwhelmingly the subject matter. General morality and economics, dealt with in a most "Victorian" manner, are high favorites; indeed, there is a strong impression that the downtrodden masses had an urgent need for information on savings accounts and steam navigation. This kind of address was typical of the "moderates" who were behind the greatest number of the papers and wished to see a moral and intellectual emancipation of the people without exciting them to social revolution. Taking inspiration from Ben Franklin, the major effort was directed toward making allies for the bourgeoisie. The "Catholic-Reactionary" publishers (thus termed by the editor) devoted themselves almost entirely to refuting the moderates, and the radicals, mainly Mazzinians, though

concerning themselves with the more practical problems of the masses, did so in such theoretical and abstract terms as to be unintelligible to all except those few already converted. The cartoons that appear with these texts show the age of both in the dimness of the reproductions and are, of course, inferior to those addressed to the readers of *Fischietto* and other papers of that class, but the editor has also omitted most examples of the "robust" sort of humor that delighted the earthier public. These volumes will certainly mean more to today's student of the *risorgimento* than their contents may have originally meant to their intended targets. It is nearly impossible to know their exact effects on Magascià's ancestors, but all these sermons must have seemed far more tiresome and must have had less effect than rousing tales about Giuseppe Garibaldi.

Northwestern University

GEORGE T. ROMANI

IL PARLAMENTO NELLA FORMAZIONE DEL REGNO D'ITALIA. By *Alberto Caracciolo*. [L'Organizzazione dello Stato, Collana di studi e testi nel centenario dell'Unità, Number 1.] (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè, Editore. 1960. Pp. ix, 333. L. 2,500.) This is the first volume (the third to be published) in an important series. By a scholar already noted in his field and one of the directors of this project, the book reflects the qualities of its companion volumes. It treats an important subject analytically, with a brief but perceptive introduction, followed by several hundred pages of well-selected documents and a useful appendix. In suggesting how the ambiguous *Statuto* led to a genuinely parliamentary regime, Caracciolo returns to an emphasis on parliament as the focus of national sentiment. In a kingdom whose origins were a mixture of Piedmontese policy, revolution, and plebiscite, he argues, it was parliament that gave the regime its definition. And defenders of Cavour will be happy with the importance he places on Cavour's determination to increase parliamentary prestige (even when he violated its rights). By 1861 opponents of the regime centered their opposition in parliament itself. Keenly aware that Cavour influenced elections, used extraparlimentary means, and tended to prorogue parliament precisely when his policies were most controversial, Caracciolo makes a moral defense of the Prime Minister in terms of the exigencies he faced. Yet this is not the point; what needs to be considered is the extent to which such policies, however necessary, undermined the representative government Cavour hoped to strengthen. The documents which make up the body of the book establish the seriousness of the discussion in and out of parliament on the constitution, the suffrage, the means of extending Piedmontese institutions to the rest of Italy, and the awkward policies of Piedmont in 1860 and 1861. They show the importance of the cleavage between the political tendencies represented by Cavour and by Garibaldi while they underline the ghostly quality of the dispute; for the opponents of Cavour from Garibaldi to Mazzini failed to provide a coherent alternative program. Selections from contemporary newspapers and pamphlets and from the minutes of the *uffici*, where the real debate took place, are invaluable, although most of these documents come from famous published collections of letters and parliamentary records that are generally available. Many a lecture will be improved and many an article strengthened by this book.

Princeton University

RAYMOND GREW

STUDII PRIVIND UNIREA PRINCIPATELOR. Edited by *Andrei Oțetea et al.* [Academia Republicii Populare Romîne, Institutul de Istorie.] ([Bucharest:] the Academia. 1960. Lei 32.40.) A collection of twenty-one essays, this volume celebrates the centennial of the union of the Danubian Principalities in 1859. While the level of the contributions, as is usually the case with symposia, varies considerably in

interest and in quality, the authors include some of the most prominent historians now writing in the Rumanian Peoples Republic. The first essay, "Social-Cultural Aspects of the Union," by M. Ralea, begins on a rather unpromising note: "The union of the Rumanian lands . . . is not an isolated event, unique in the world's history, but an expression of the laws of development of societies. Marxist-Leninist science has completely explained the nature of these events, their profound structural causality, their specific historical mechanism, their beneficial consequences for human progress." Whatever may be thought of the truth of such an assertion, it does take the edge off one's curiosity; historical research and writing seem hardly worth the trouble. Throughout the volume the reader must be prepared for such loyal displays as citations from Lenin and Stalin as authorities on Rumanian "feudalism," critiques of bourgeois historiography, and the insistent stress on socioeconomic factors. Still, with patience, some interesting information can be picked up on the way, especially in the pieces that used unpublished materials, for example, Georgescu-Buzău's study of the development of manufacture in 1820-1859. The symposium has no perceptible structure in the sequence of contributions, which deal not only with the surrounding political and diplomatic events, but also with arts and letters, the peasant problem, repercussions in Transylvania, local histories (a useful addition), and the unification of the medical and sanitary services. Under present circumstances, however, this lack of organization has its virtues: the side excursions are often more rewarding reading than the treatment of the central themes relating to the Union, partly because they cover less familiar ground, partly because they are less subject to required lines of historical interpretation.

Columbia University

HENRY L. ROBERTS

SLOVENIA IN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS: REFLECTIONS ON SLOVENIAN POLITICAL HISTORY. By *John A. Arnez*. [Studia Slovenica, Number 1.] (Washington, D. C.: League of CSA. 1958. Pp. x, 204. \$3.50.) Writing from the viewpoint of the prewar Slovene People's party, an avowedly clerical political organization that played a substantial role in keeping Slovene national sentiment alive under the Habsburgs and under the Yugoslav monarchy, the author here reviews the history of the most cultivated, smallest, and least aggressive of the south Slav peoples. Subjects and often victims of the Germans and Italians, the Slovenes have contributed leaders to both the old and the new Yugoslavia. The existence of substantial Slovene populations in Italy and Austria, and their mistreatment by the native majorities, has at times contributed to major international crises, notably to that over Trieste. Mr. Arnez thoroughly documents his work, which is rather a historical sketch than the *Reflections on Slovenian History* that he himself calls it in a subtitle. He puts most of his emphasis on the Second World War and the period since. Strongly anti-Tito, he believes that the Slovenes are still a nation with national aspirations, thwarted by the present regime, but nourished by the Catholic Church. The reader will find many little-known details in this book. He will also wish that the author had had better editorial help: some of the English sentences are incomprehensible, and many are nonidiomatic or puzzling.

Harvard University

ROBERT LEE WOLFF

HOLY RUSSIA: THE HISTORY OF A RELIGIOUS-SOCIAL IDEA. By *Alexander V. Soloviev*. [Musagetes: Contributions to the History of Slavic Literature and culture, Number 12.] (The Hague: Mouton and Company. 1959. Pp. 61. Glds. 6.) This book is a translation of a long article in Russian which Professor Soloviev published in 1927 in the *Sbornik Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva* (I) in Belgrade. He justifies this translation by the fact that, to his knowledge, no subsequent work has

been done on this topic; hence his article may be of service to scholars in the English-speaking world. The translation differs from the original in some particulars: Soloviev has added a few notes, expanded the section on the history of "Holy Russia" in the early nineteenth century, and changed the conclusion to his study; whereas the original ends with a plea that Russia fulfill the ideal symbolized by the epithet, the purpose of the English version is "purely historical, not political." It is only a study of the history of an idea. Soloviev's great achievement was to have been the first to study the meaning and history of this striking and unique epithet, which he traces from the sixteenth to the late nineteenth century. In the realm of history of ideas in Russia, his article was a brilliant trail blazer, and one can only hope that Russian historians in America will follow his example. Soloviev, however, did not come across my study "Holy Russia: A Study in the History of an Idea" (*AHR*, LXIII [Apr. 1958], 617-37). In it I developed, in greater detail, the history of the epithet in the nineteenth century. Also I suggested a different dating for the first appearance of "Holy Russia." While Soloviev assigned it to Prince Kurbsky and the second half of the sixteenth century, I argued for its appearance in the early years of the seventeenth century, during the Time of Troubles. It appeared as a popular symbol and retained an antistate connotation, implicitly and explicitly, till modern times.

Wesleyan University

MICHAEL CHERNIAVSKY

THE SOVIET INDUSTRIALIZATION DEBATE, 1924-1928. By *Alexander Erlich*. [Russian Research Center Studies, Number 41.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. xxiii, 214. \$6.00.) In March 1921 Lenin adopted the New Economic Policy as a means of conciliating the peasants, reviving trade and industry, and thus permitting the prostrate Russian economy to come back to life. This temporary compromise with capitalism achieved its immediate aim, but when Lenin died in 1924 his successors were left to wrestle with the problem of what economic policies to follow thereafter. Everyone agreed that the Soviet Union should industrialize, but at what speed? And how could it be financed? Would it be possible to move ahead rapidly on all fronts of the economy at once, or was this a matter of trying to build today's factories with tomorrow's bricks? Which type of investment would bring the best and quickest results? Investment in agriculture? In light industry? Or in heavy industry? How could the peasants be forced to produce and market more grain if at the same time heavy industry was to be expanded at the expense of consumer goods production? These problems, which are strikingly similar to those faced by many backward countries today, were argued heatedly in the USSR during 1924-1928 by prominent political leaders like Stalin, Trotsky, Bukharin, and Rykov, along with such lesser-known economists as Bazarov, Shanin, and Sokolnikov. Stalin's eventual solution was to drive the reluctant peasants into collective farms, through which a drastic rate of forced savings could be imposed upon the rural population. At the same time "the suppression of the limited independence of the trade unions ended the possibility of organized opposition against the catastrophic fall" in the real wages of the proletariat. The general outlines of the industrialization debate have long been known, but Erlich for the first time explains it from the viewpoint of economic theory, as seen through the eyes of a present-day, Western-oriented economist. In concentrating on theoretical analyses and speculations, the author has produced a book that will be of interest to specialists on the Soviet economy and to economists in general. But by omitting almost entirely any discussion of the political side of the debate and by neglecting to provide a chronological narrative of the dramatic struggle of personalities, he has at the same time made the book less interesting to those who are not economists. Stalin, since he was not much of an eco-

nomist, gets rather cursory treatment, and Trotsky is barely mentioned. By adding more of the political background of the debates, Erlich could have added color, drama, and dimension to his careful, scholarly study.

University of Virginia

THOMAS T. HAMMOND

NEAR EAST

THE INTELLECTUAL ORIGINS OF EGYPTIAN NATIONALISM. By *Jamal Mohammed Ahmed*. [Middle Eastern Monographs, Number 3. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 135. \$5.00.) Egyptian nationalism has a relatively long history. The political and social awakening started in Egypt with Napoleon's campaign at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It first tried its strength in the struggle against age-old despotism, lethargy, and stagnation in the late 1870's, under the leadership of an officer of fellah origin, and failed. It waited then for another generation to renew the attempt during and after the First World War. It came to fruition only in the 1950's. Between the first and the second attempt (1880 and 1920) is a period of intense intellectual preparation in which a more cohesive nation was created and during which a process of critical analysis of the bases of Egyptian social and cultural life progressed rapidly. This period also witnessed the introduction of the country's educated classes to the principles of European liberalism. It is with this period that the book deals. The author is a Sudanese scholar who studied at Oxford and who, after a period as warden of the University of Khartoum, became his country's ambassador in Ethiopia. He has written a book that speaks well for the present state of scholarship in Egypt and the Sudan. It makes accessible to the Western student many Arabic sources which are little known or unavailable outside of Egypt and familiarizes him with a period of high intellectual achievement and search for reform. Some of the thinkers analyzed (like Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid who was born in 1872 and is still alive today) seem among the most attractive "awakeners of their people" known to this reviewer from the comparative study of similar developments among the "awakening" nationalities of nineteenth-century Europe. The book, with long quotations from Arabic prose and poetry, is written in highly readable and idiomatic English. It will be stimulating not only for the student of present-day Egypt where the fellah endeavors to shake off many centuries of degradation, but also to the general student of nationalism. He will find here thinkers and movements that will help to clarify, by what they have in common and by what is distinctive to them, the course and force of nationalism everywhere. As far as Egypt itself is concerned, the men at the turn of the century laid the foundation for much of its political vocabulary and the intellectual life of today.

City College of New York

HANS KOHN

FAR EAST

NEW LIGHT ON EARLY AND MEDIEVAL JAPANESE HISTORIOGRAPHY: TWO TRANSLATIONS AND AN INTRODUCTION. By *John A. Harrison*. [University of Florida Monographs, Social Sciences, Number 4.] (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1960. Pp. 45. \$2.00.) The last of the eight-volume *Rekishi Kōza* (Lectures in Japanese History) compiled by the "liberal" Rekishigaku Kenkyū Kai (Historical Research Society) of Tokyo is devoted to Japanese historiography. Six of the ten lectures discuss historical scholarship during the last hundred years, but the ancient period (700-1200) and the medieval period (1200-1600) rate only one each. These two lectures

are translated by Professor Harrison. The first contrasts early Japanese historical writing with ancient history in the West, and the second compares the two principal interpretative studies of medieval Japan: the *Gukansho* (a Buddhist treatment of the thirteenth century) and the *Jinnō Shōtōki* (a Shinto-oriented treatise of the fourteenth century). So little has been written in English about historiography in Japan that these free translations, with a thoughtful and useful introduction, will be of great value to the serious student of Japanese history.

University of California, Berkeley

DELMER M. BROWN

FORT WILLIAM-INDIA HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE AND OTHER CONTEMPORARY PAPERS RELATING THERETO. Public Series, Volume I, 1748-1756. Edited by K. K. Datta. [Indian Records Series.] (Delhi: Manager of Publications, Government of India, for the National Archives of India. 1958. Pp. 22, xlix, 1160. Rs. 32.) This volume is a compilation of letters exchanged between the Court of Directors of the English East India Company and its Fort William (Bengal) establishment from 1748 to 1756. In an introductory essay the editor sums up the history of the period and shows the relevance of these letters to that history. It goes without saying that any publication of original source material is a welcome event. The present volume, however, is of very limited utility. The letters written to the Court of Directors cannot be uncritically relied upon as the correspondents did not always communicate to their masters the disagreeable aspects of the company's affairs. For the purpose of research into its history, public consultations, which serve as an accurate log of the company's activities and a running commentary on contemporary events, remain indispensable. Professor Datta, in his *Studies in the History of Bengal Subah, 1740-70* (1936), and *Alivardi and His Times* (1939), has exploited, perhaps to the fullest extent, the information contained in the correspondence now published and in other contemporary English and Bengali records. It would, therefore, be a most agreeable surprise if a scholar could use the present volume to a new advantage. Though Datta is an expert on the Bengal period of 1740-1756, his editing of the present volume leaves much to be desired. The correspondence has been published without critical notes or cross references to other source materials. In their absence would it not be better for a scholar to order a microfilm of the correspondence from India Office Library (London) than to purchase this bulky book?

Victoria University, Wellington

BRIJEN K. GUPTA

THE WHITE RAJAHS: A HISTORY OF SARAWAK FROM 1841 TO 1946. By Steven Runciman. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 319. \$5.50.) *The White Rajahs* should serve as a very readable and informative introduction to the history of Sarawak. As readers are aware, Runciman can make history come alive, and his present work is a particularly vivid account of the character and adventures of the Brooke family in their long association with Sarawak. They were extraordinary. Though they had faults, their contributions to Sarawak (as Runciman concludes) were exceptional: "In an age when colonial methods were not always pretty, when the lust for power or for commercial gain too often dictated policy, they showed how a few Europeans could bring peace and contentment to a fierce and lawless country, with the good will and even the love of its peoples." Runciman's book provides many interesting aspects of history. In James Brooke's career, one may discern nineteenth-century romanticism seeking spiritual fulfillment in the exotic East. His establishment of sovereignty in Sarawak illuminates the basic theoretical problems of establishing and maintaining sovereignty, with a simplicity worthy of Hobbes or Rousseau. Grim moments appear in

the narrative, especially the Chinese Rising of 1857, which nearly ended Brooke's rule. The family's voluntary relinquishment of its dominion, after the Second World War, provides a moment of pathos. Of course, Runciman neglects some aspects of Sarawak. Though he vividly describes how Europeans lived in Sarawak, he writes little about the ways of the indigenous people. He is sketchy in dealing with their educational and economic development. Despite many references to head hunting, he leaves the reader wondering whether the practice has ceased and how this end was achieved. Undoubtedly Runciman was wise in limiting his study to the Brookes. But other scholars should begin from there and, utilizing the tools of anthropology and sociology, as well as the archives of Britain and Sarawak, explain the full historical and cultural development of these people and their neighbors in Borneo and South Asia.

Bowdoin College

GEORGE D. BEARCE

LE VIET-MINH: LA RÉPUBLIQUE DÉMOCRATIQUE DU VIET-NAM, 1945-1960. By *Bernard Fall*. Preface by *Paul Mus*. [Cahiers de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Number 106.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1960. Pp. xi, 376. 19 new fr.) Bernard Fall's informative discussion of the Viet-Minh regime is something more than an interpretative essay and something less than a formal history. Parts I and V on the birth of the new state and the antecedents of the Dien Bien Phu incident are developed historically, but no attempt is made to re-examine critically the crucial topic of French policy from 1946 to 1954. Other sections describe the patterns of Viet-Minh control, including external relations, party organization, economic objectives and accomplishments, agrarian and worker policy, and education. Detailed documentation is maintained throughout, but the reader is never quite sure where the sources leave off and ex parte statements of the author begin. The book is not, therefore, a definitive study. The author's French, incidentally, is salted with American idiom. One of the most interesting sections is Fall's story of the early life of Ho Chi Minh from 1917 to 1930, as cabin boy, London chef, Paris journalist, photo retoucher, partisan of the Third International, interpreter for Borodin in China, and eventually founder of the Vietnamese Communist party. Ho was intelligent, dedicated, and industrious, a pragmatic rather than a theoretical Communist, less anti-French than were many of his nationalist associates. Fall attributes Ho's reluctance in 1945-1949 to precipitate any hasty separation from France to his distrust of the rabidly anti-French Dong Minh Hoi, a partisan Vietnamese group sponsored by the Chinese nationalist Kuomintang. The triumph of Viet-Minh guerrillas at Dien Bien Phu in 1954 was no political accident. Viet-Minh morale and organization won out over a French force superior in both numbers and equipment. Fall insists that Viet-Minh is an inescapable fact, a state "more solid than North Korea, more viable than Mongolia or Albania, more Stalinist than Poland or Hungary." In his opinion the best hope which the non-Communist world can reasonably entertain is that the country will remain essentially Vietnamese in character as it did during a millenium of Chinese rule and for four decades under the French. This conclusion would be more convincing if it did not beg so many questions.

University of London

JOHN F. CADY

CHINA CROSSES THE YALU: THE DECISION TO ENTER THE KOREAN WAR. By *Allen S. Whiting*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1960. Pp. x, 219. \$7.50.) Dr. Whiting attempts to measure the relationship between events in the Korean War and the evolution of Chinese Communist foreign and military policy and to examine the conflict in Korea in order to contribute to an increased understanding of the problems in limited war. A RAND Corporation political scientist and student of

both Communist China and the Soviet Union, Whiting employs a historical approach to achieve a historical narrative. He uses four general types of evidence: official public statements by Chinese Communist officials prepared for foreign consumption; Chinese Communists' statements and official publications addressed to their domestic audience; United States intelligence estimates, Chinese Communist unit histories, and interrogations of prisoners; and formal diplomatic activity as revealed in public records. Dangers inherent in such sources are obvious, but the author uses his data judiciously and carefully labels his hypotheses and deductions. He concludes that Communist China did not participate in the planning for the North Korean crossing of the thirty-eighth parallel in June 1950, although the Soviet Union did. He shows that when the United Nations, and especially the United States, entered the war on the side of the republic of Korea, the Soviet Union made serious efforts to terminate the conflict by a political settlement. In late August 1950 the Chinese tentatively decided to enter the war if political attempts at settlement failed. They began the necessary troop redeployments in September. Then, when their public and private warnings failed to deter United Nations troops from crossing the thirty-eighth parallel and advancing toward the Yalu, they intervened tentatively in October and massively in November. Whiting's excellent study is valuable for its illumination of Chinese Communist policy, for its shrewd and learned insights into the political strategy of Peking and Moscow, and for its illuminating examples of the difficulties in communication between rival governments in the cold war.

Washington, D. C.

JOHN MILLER, JR.

UNITED STATES

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION. By *Nathaniel Weyl*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 360. \$6.00.) This work is notable for the number of things it touches upon. Its opening chapters, purporting to furnish historical background for an understanding of the Negro problem, deal successively with slavery's origins, the attitude of the founding fathers toward slavery and the Negro, the lot of the free Negro, Abraham Lincoln vis-à-vis the colored man, the Negro in Reconstruction, the emergence of Jim Crow, and the slow ascent of the Negro in the twentieth century. The middle portion of this volume is devoted to ethnopsychology. Addressing himself to the question as to whether biological differences exist "between the minds and psychic growth patterns of Caucasians and Negroes," Weyl tells of some studies on the psychomotor equipment of certain African groups, deals with the validity of the concept of race, discourses on the extent to which the Negro has contributed anything to civilization, and then presents his crowning evidence—comparative white and Negro intelligence test results. All these things lead Weyl to the provisional conclusion "that structural differences in the mentality of the two races exist which cannot be wholly explained by environment." The final chapters of this work describe certain trends and events in Negro-white relations since the Supreme Court school desegregation decisions of 1954, all making for "the gathering crisis." The diffusive nature of this study, entering as it does into fields as widely separated as neurology and constitutional law, is heightened by its discursiveness. This work abounds in asides. In discussing the Negro's economic condition, for example, Weyl tells us that while the Negro is impoverished in comparison with the American population as a whole, he is among the world's most affluent inhabitants when measured on a global scale, an economic well-being "that is a direct result of United States citizenship," and "one which bears little relationship to his abilities." Some of this volume's looseness in continuity

stems from its combative tone; the author takes time to administer drubbings, Thaddeus Stevens coming in for the hardest knocks. Weyl takes direct issue with Clyde Kluckhohn over the caliber of the twelfth-century university at Timbuktu, and he pauses to speak of Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* as being "shaped by the socialist prejudices and communist sympathies of members of its staff." Weyl's work has a certain vigor of style, and it brings together a wide array of information, although uneven in texture and weighted in emphasis.

Morgan State College

BENJAMIN QUARLES

THE CABINET AND CONGRESS. By *Stephen Horn*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 310. \$6.00.) The title is considerably more sweeping than the scope of this book, which is concerned mainly with the history of attempts to bridge the constitutional gap between the legislative and executive branches of the federal government by establishing a more direct relationship between the cabinet and Congress. The suggested change has taken two principal forms. One is that cabinet officers be given seats on the floors of Congress with the privilege of debating issues affecting their respective departments. The other would have cabinet members appear before one or the other house about once a week to answer formal written questions supplemented by oral interrogation from the floor in the manner of the question hour in the British House of Commons. Cabinet officers actually appeared in person several times before the precedent-conscious first Congress decided that they should report "in writing, not in person." Since then with rare exceptions they have confined themselves to the arduous business of testifying before congressional committees. Congressional interest in granting them access to the parent bodies has flared up twice, once during and soon after the Civil War when George Pendleton championed their participation in floor debate, and again in World War II when Estes Kefauver urged the more modest proposal of a question hour. On the basis of letters to former cabinet members and questionnaire and interview responses of roughly two hundred members of Congress, the conclusion is drawn that opinions now are divided as to the need for reform, which each branch seems to think would increase the influence of the other if it affected the power balance at all. But the unequivocal opposition of the speaker of the House as well as most of the committee chairmen and ranking minority members who responded would seem to settle the matter. Mr. Horn has done his job with admirable thoroughness. Documentation is painstaking, and it seems unlikely that any statement for or against the change, inside or outside Congress, has been overlooked. The style is sprightly and clear. The shortcoming of the book, which cannot be charged to the author, is suggested by the lament of Gamaliel Bradford, who campaigned nearly a half century for the reform: "The most discouraging thing is . . . to go on for years and find nobody paying any attention to anything you say." The proposed change is rather a small one and has made hardly a ripple on the surface of American political life.

University of Wisconsin

RALPH K. HUITT

THE AMERICAN SUPREME COURT. By *Robert G. McCloskey*. [The Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1960. Pp. x, 260. \$5.00.) The shaping of American constitutional law by the Supreme Court of the United States has been a process of such complexity that one who seeks to tell the institutional and doctrinal story in a brief volume assumes a formidable task. Professor McCloskey has shown great understanding and skill in achieving the objective. He has utilized neither the slogans of cynicism nor the platitudes of respect as devices for condensation. Instead he has chosen a few basic problems of constitutional history and

analyzed them with perceptive imagination. He has, I think, shown a peculiar sensitivity of understanding in his account of our failures and achievements in securing civil rights. The volume is lively and easy reading partly because one finds himself questioning the interpretation of particular cases and the motivation of particular judges. Such questioning is never stimulated, however, by a distorting or argumentative bias in the presentation of a thesis. It is generally kindled by a fresh insight or a suggestive exposition. In my judgment the sole exaggeration of which the author is guilty is in his insistence that the founders did not intend the Court to become the final arbiter of justiciable issues of constitutional law. I find it hard to see how anyone who has read Herbert Wechsler's essay, "Toward Neutral Principles of Constitutional Law," can any longer question the complete legitimacy of John Marshall's reading of history and interpretation of law. McCloskey's almost stubborn refusal to recognize that legitimacy has led him, I believe, to travel down a few needless avenues of inquiry. In a volume so skillfully compressed as this, one mildly resents such excursions into needless doubt.

Harvard Law School

MARK DEWOLFE HOWE

APACHE, NAVAHO AND SPANIARD. By *Jack D. Forbes*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1960. Pp. xxvi, 304. \$5.95.) Under this title the author attempts to present a history of the Southwest from its beginnings to 1698. The approach is primarily through the southern Athapascan Indians, generally called Apaches, with such additions as Navaho and Lipan. Basically, the book is organized chronologically. The first chapter, "The Athapascans Meet the Spaniards," is the story of the Coronado explorations; the next two, "Mines, Missionaries, and Mounted Indians" and "Slaves, Silver, and Souls," record the Ibarra, Rodríguez, Espejo, and Castaño de Sosa expeditions between 1565 and the end of the century; the next three treat the Oñate period, marking the establishment of a permanent Spanish colony in New Mexico, and continue the narrative through Benavides and the 1630's. And so on to 1698, the date marking the final restoration of Spanish authority after the Pueblo revolt of 1680. Forbes recognizes that the southern Athapascans probably were living in New Mexico (the term is used in a broad sense) as early as 1400, and perhaps earlier; rejects the idea of a state of constant warfare between the Athapascans and the Pueblos (with the Spaniards later becoming the protectors of the Pueblos); does not accept the idea of a primitive culture in the Southwest in which the tribes were always at war (though war among them was not unknown); holds that peaceful conditions, marked by mutually satisfying trade relations, had been the normal basis of their society; and believes that the Spanish Empire, though benevolent in its aspirations, introduced a disturbing factor—its own culture—which upset the old basis of tribal relations and led to greatly increased warfare and decline of population among the Indian tribes. The author relies heavily on original documentary materials, even to the exclusion of well-known monographic studies, such as Bandelier's *Final Report*, and Scholes's *Church and State*. While this may help to give a fresh approach to the subject, it also exposes Forbes to other pitfalls. The book bears the earmarks of a doctoral dissertation and would have profited from more careful checking. But it is an important study and will be useful to both anthropologists and historians.

Bancroft Library, University of California

GEORGE P. HAMMOND

THE WELSH IN AMERICA: LETTERS FROM THE IMMIGRANTS. Edited by *Alan Conway*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1961. Pp. 341. \$6.00.) In the grand total of American immigration, the Welsh constituted hardly more than a corporal's guard, and relatively little has been written about them. This collection of

197 "America letters," culled and translated from originals or reprints from Welsh papers and periodicals, therefore, constitutes a valuable source collection, with brief introductory notes, for the Welsh immigration and some aspects of the total history of American immigration as well. These letters tell the story of Welshmen who settled in both the agricultural and industrial sections of America. For many, experiences in the land of their choice were so satisfying as to induce their countrymen to follow them; for others, immigration meant nothing more than exchanging "the difficulties of the Old World for the disillusionment of the New." Almost all testify to the rapid assimilation of the Welsh into the general American pattern. In a collection of this kind much repetition is unavoidable; the index, therefore, is especially serviceable. These letters deal with a variety of subjects, from the Atlantic voyage to prices, wages, food and housing, the special problems of immigrant farmers and craftsmen, and several futile attempts to preserve Welsh nationalism in small communities settled primarily by newcomers from Wales. About half the book is devoted to rural America, the rest to Welsh miners and craftsmen employed in the coal mines, iron and steel mills, and the tin-plate industry in the industrial areas of the United States. Here one gets firsthand accounts of wretched conditions before the unions gained recognition and influence, depressing stories of strikes and evictions, and the competition of various immigrant groups for jobs and status in the bitter wars between capital and labor. Only a few of the letters deal with political matters; others illuminate such cultural interests as religion, music and literature, and the role of the Welsh immigrant in the Civil War. This collection is a valuable addition to the growing list of publications of "America letters." It has all the earmarks of careful, painstaking editing and scholarship.

Western Reserve University

CARL WITKE

SAMUEL VETCH: COLONIAL ENTERPRISER. By G. M. Waller. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1960. Pp. x, 311. \$6.00.) In the general histories of early America Samuel Vetch figures in a few brief sentences that associate him with the abortive conquest of Canada during Queen Anne's War or name him as governor of Nova Scotia (1710-1717). This fine biography rescues from oblivion a personage, to be sure a rather minor one, whose career was bound up in events of great moment during an important period of the old Empire. Scion of the dissenting Scotch family of Veitch, Samuel's shadow first falls across the pages of American history with his arrival in New York in 1699 as a survivor of the disastrous Darien expedition on which his countrymen had pinned such great hopes. Thereafter his traces are ubiquitous. At once Vetch (he dropped the i from his name) responded to the commercial atmosphere of his adopted province and speedily made himself at home. He married into the family of Robert Livingston, settled in the house once owned by Captain Kidd, and entered the illegal trade which brought money and a kind of fame to colonial New York. Vetch became an ardent promoter of the conquest of Canada, making full use of influential connections in England and America to carry off the scheme he projected in a paper, "Canada Survey'd" (1708). When the campaign of 1710 failed to muster enough strength to seize Canada, Vetch helped salvage it from utter futility by turning it against French Acadia, which he governed after it fell to English arms and became Nova Scotia. This was the high watermark of his career and the beginning of his time of troubles. Neglected by officialdom in London, Vetch struggled with the problems of his post for three years, then sailed for England in 1714 to spend his remaining days vainly seeking recognition for his labors and attempting to launch new enterprises. He died in 1732 in debtor's prison. Whether the author could have extracted more biographical data for a fuller personal portrait from the Vetch

papers is a debatable question. The chief interest in this study is the analysis of the British imperial scene in a most interesting period. Vetch is a particle in the kaleidoscope of British colonial administration that shifted with every turn in imperial policy. At the end the reader is better informed on the difficulties and frustration of colonial enterprise than on Vetch, the enterpriser. Yet biography is perhaps the proper form because it permits Waller to examine imperial matters under a powerful lens that brings vividly into view concrete detail of the colonial scene. The reader follows Vetch and his colleagues in enterprise through the maze of local and momentary difficulties that beset every colonial undertaking, but are often missing in less personal accounts. Still the larger setting is not neglected by preoccupation with detail. Deft paragraphs that sketch the "big picture" reveal the interplay between the broader policies of empire and the consequences in the lives of the people, like Vetch, comprising it. Throughout the perspective is maintained even in long passages where Vetch's name does not appear at all. The writing is clear and done with a genuine sense of style. The research is broad as well as thorough and the apparatus impeccable.

University of Maryland

AUBREY C. LAND

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THOSE WHO ATTENDED HARVARD COLLEGE IN THE CLASSES 1741-1745, WITH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER NOTES. By *Clifford K. Shipton*. [Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Volume XI.] (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1960. Pp. xiv, 649. \$7.50.) The eleventh volume of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* is both unsurprising and extraordinary. Clifford Shipton's usual painstaking research, the customary charm of his writing, and the regular handsome format all are here. His characteristic partialities are here, too. Men who grew up to be Whigs, as most of these graduates did, have to answer for it; Tories get sympathy, if not indulgence. Rugged Calvinism is not, at the end of the day, Shipton's dish of tea; religious liberalism is the congenial thing. These predilections, however, add verve, and perhaps they become conspicuous only when one reads the book straight through. Anyone consulting a single biographical sketch will find that the author, despite his personal tastes, has tried to be fair to individuals. But while he has been fair, he cannot be completely just. Reporting vital statistics and anecdotes about men who are written up simply because they went to school together inevitably does more than justice to some insignificant persons and reduces the stature of more important ones. The distortion may help to explain why American Whiggery in Shipton's hands amounts to little beyond peevishness in gentlemen and overactive animal spirits in obscure people. It does not explain, though, why all references to the American Board of Customs Commissioners suggest a body of abnormally disinterested and righteous public servants. The volume is unusual for the large number of impressive men whose lives are chronicled. Samuel Cooper, James Otis, Thomas Cushing, Jonathan Mayhew, James Bowdoin, James Warren, and William Samuel Johnson are among those given appropriately large and spirited sketches. There is an even greater number of interesting but less famous men in this book, including a group of hapless Episcopalians, among whom Samuel Auchmuty was outstanding. If one wants to see in a single person all that made episcopacy a fighting word in New England, Auchmuty is the man to meet.

Northwestern University

LAWRENCE G. LAVENGOOD

CHAIN OF ERROR AND THE MECKLENBURG DECLARATIONS OF INDEPENDENCE: A NEW STUDY OF MANUSCRIPTS, THEIR USE, ABUSE, AND NEGLECT. By *V. V. McNitt*. (Palmer, Mass.: Hampden Hills Press; distrib. by Herit-

age Printers, Charlotte, N. C. 1960. Pp. 134. \$4.50.) The Mecklenburg Resolves of May 1775 have long fascinated historians: there is general agreement that Mecklenburg County earned a certain priority in open declaration for independence, and there has long been disagreement as to the precise timing of the Mecklenburg resolutions. Were there resolutions passed as early as May 20? Or is the evidence for "the alleged early Declaration" definitely spurious, as William Henry Hoyt insisted in 1907? Jefferson had a natural interest in this question, and he resented the suggestion that he borrowed directly from Mecklenburg for his more famous Declaration of 1776. In fact, since 1819 the Mecklenburg priority has been disputed and argued, and Mr. McNitt's new study is not likely to end this controversy. *Chain of Error* is a handsomely made book, and it is a pity its contents are not more worthy of the printer's art. The index is sketchy, and there are no footnotes to buttress critical contentions. The book is not totally unreadable, but there are pages when such totality is almost reached. McNitt's enthusiasm and familiarity with his subject probably contribute to the disjointed prose; the author has rationed himself too stringently in his employment of such literary devices as verbs, paragraph transitions, topic sentences, and the like. A truly autocratic editor might have helped by insisting upon an increased sense of discipline, order, and sequence. In spite of these reservations as to form and organization, the author is worth consulting for his historiographical knowledge of the subject, and his interesting conclusions. He concedes that there is inadequate contemporary information on the resolutions of May 20; he also concedes that John McNitt Alexander (no kin) unwittingly contributed to the view that there really were no May 20 resolutions. In his opinion the real villain is not Alexander, but careless examination of Alexander's account by one Dr. Charles Phillips, who suppressed evidence and discredited the May 20 supporters. McNitt is convinced that there is abundant corroborative evidence which proves the existence of the alleged early Declaration of Independence. I am convinced that Alexander has been abused and misrepresented; I am also prepared to concede that there probably was a May 20 declaration although McNitt's strenuously argued case raises too many unanswered questions to allow me any conviction. At least we have a new candidate for historical villainy in Dr. Charles Phillips—"the real super-duper," according to the author.

Indiana University

H. TREVOR COLBOURN

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNALS OF THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESSES OF SOUTH CAROLINA, 1775-1776. Edited by *William Edwin Hemphill*. *Wylma Anne Wates*, Assistant Editor. [State Records of South Carolina.] (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department. 1960. Pp. xxxiv, 299. \$8.00.) This volume in the series *State Records of South Carolina, 1775-1865*, brings together for the first time official accounts of the four sessions of the two Provincial Congresses covering the period from January 1775 to March 1776. The original MS journals were lost. These are the extracts, the official condensations prepared and printed by the secretary, Peter Timothy, to publicize the Congresses' actions, and are themselves very scarce. The introduction of pacific resistance in January 1775, creation of armed forces, financial matters, and the adoption of a constitution as early as March 1776 are some of the main themes. The comprehensive but succinct editorial introduction, as well as the organization of the whole volume, is of the highest caliber.

Randolph-Macon College

W. HUGH MOOMAW

AMERIKANSKAIA BURZHUAZNAIA REVOLIUTSIIA XVIII VEKA [The American Bourgeois Revolution of the 18th Century]. By *A. A. Fursenko*. (Moscow: Academy of Sciences of the USSR. 1960. Pp. 152. 2 rubles, 55 kopecks.) A. A. Fursenko's

book is part of a "popular-scientific" series published by the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Addressed to "historians and the large circle of readers interested in American history" and attractively illustrated, it is a credit, in the Soviet setting, to both publisher and author. It holds out some cheer even to Americans. As the foreword says: "The victory of the revolution was the result of the heroic struggle of the American people for freedom and independence, and the events of that day have remained for us a witness of the democratic tendencies of the American people. The advanced progressive elements[!] in contemporary America, fighting for peace and democracy, may be proud that they are heirs and protagonists of these great traditions." The author has good Soviet authorities for taking a generally sympathetic view: Marx, Engels, and Lenin (in his "Letter to American Workers"). Yet his book is still a product of Soviet thinking. For a good point, it views the American events as part of the Western-European scene, as the title indicates. Otherwise it overstates the economic factors at the expense of all the others that conditioned the emerging American outlook and overplays the significance of all the rebellious underdogs from Bacon to Shays. There is too much talk of the "class struggle" when even from a Marxist viewpoint there would seem to be no true dialectical justification. Admittedly the American Revolution was a bourgeois revolution; the oft-mentioned "suppressed masses" were either small property owners or on their way to becoming such. It was the vote, not class, that was at stake. The heroes in this book are Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and above all Ben Franklin. As a supporter of the radicals, Fursenko takes an Antifederalist position, and it is regrettable that he, in an otherwise quite informative book, devotes so little space to the provisions of the American Constitution. Revolutionary violence is given its due significance, also revolutionary organization and the terror visited upon the loyalists. In some parts this book reads like an American text, except that periodically the narrative is reined in to make it conform to the Soviet canon. The author's bibliography, apart from the obligatory references (that include W. Z. Foster), cites many American and English works, most of them somewhat dated. At the end Fursenko quotes Radishchev to show how the American Revolution kindled the longing for liberty elsewhere, and finally Lenin to show how it became the model for revolutionary war. "In this," Fursenko concludes, "lies the greatest significance of the victory of the American people and their service to history." On the basis of this sentiment coexistence could indeed be made to last.

University of California, Riverside

THEODORE H. VON LAUE

DANIEL MORGAN: RANGER OF THE REVOLUTION. By *North Callahan*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1961. Pp. x, 342. \$5.00.) A half century ago Edward Channing said, "Morgan deserves to be more widely known." At that time only Graham's biography existed, valuable but even then outmoded. Until recently, scattered articles and a book-length sketch constituted the only response to Channing's remark. Fortunately Mr. Callahan has now given us a modern, full-bodied study that gives evidence of solid research and is written with considerable insight and grace. Callahan recognizes Morgan's special place in the Revolution. Initially Morgan was a leader of frontier riflemen who ably participated in Arnold's march to Quebec and in the battles against Burgoyne. Later he became the loyal lieutenant of Gates and then Greene in the South and was responsible for that little gem of a battle, Cowpens, striking for its conception and its victorious result. If Callahan devotes nine of his twelve chapters to the war, it is understandable; the Revolution was the great event in Morgan's life. On the other hand, instead of but one chapter, it would have been helpful to have had a more complete account of Morgan from the Revolution until his death. After all, he was a prominent figure in suppressing the Whisky Rebellion, and he served in Congress

in the exciting years, 1797-1799. On the whole, this is a fine book. Occasionally, to be sure, Callahan's enthusiasm for his subject may induce one to wonder if the leader of Arnold's march to Quebec was Arnold or Morgan and if the commanding officer against Burgoyne was Gates or Morgan. It is regrettable, moreover, that a formal bibliography was not appended; one has to dig out the sources used from the footnotes, which, thankfully, are quite full. Reservations aside, the biography fills a real need and amply demonstrates that sound scholarship may still provide interesting reading.

Wesleyan University

WILLARD M. WALLACE

JAMES CLYMAN, FRONTIERSMAN, 1792-1881: THE ADVENTURES OF A TRAPPER AND COVERED-WAGON EMIGRANT AS TOLD IN HIS OWN REMINISCENCES AND DIARIES. Edited by *Charles L. Camp*. (2d ed.; Portland, Ore.: Champoe Press. 1960. Pp. 352. \$25.00.) The original *James Clyman, Frontiersman*, was published in an edition of 330 copies in 1928. It was an important book, contributing greatly to our knowledge of Jedediah Smith and other mountain men. It soon became unobtainable except at an exorbitant price. This fact alone would have justified a new edition, but Charles Camp has also extended his studies of Clyman and has incorporated some new material. This edition of 1,450 copies is a handsome one, about one hundred pages larger than the original book, and it contains all the literary remains of Clyman (including his homespun poetry). Few men's careers afford so many points of contact with the familiar fabric of American history as it was being woven. Born on a Virginia farm owned by George Washington, Clyman learned surveying in Illinois under a son of Alexander Hamilton and served in the Black Hawk War in the same company with Abraham Lincoln. One of Ashley's young trappers in the 1820's, he was a pioneer settler of Illinois in the 1830's, of Wisconsin in the early 1840's, a guide to Oregon in 1844 and to California, where he settled at Napa in 1848. His diaries for the years 1844-1846 are important for their description of early Oregon and California and for the eastward journey with Lansford Hastings in 1846. The editor has followed up every possible byway of investigation with the result that a close study of the book will afford the reader a liberal education in the history of the Far West. In those few cases where there is some discrepancy between the text and the notes, the latter should be followed.

Colorado College

HARVEY L. CARTER

ERASTUS CORNING, MERCHANT AND FINANCIER, 1794-1872. By *Irene D. Neu*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 212. \$4.00.) The author aims "to contribute to an understanding of the role of the merchant capitalist in early and mid-nineteenth-century America," by telling the story of Corning's career, but, she adds, "limitations of time and space" prohibit including his political activities, despite their admitted importance and connection with politics. In one paragraph the local, state, and federal offices to which he was elected are listed, and we learn that "the role of public servant was never so important to him as the role of behind-the-scenes political manipulator. In the latter capacity he was to spare neither time nor money to accomplish his ends." An obscure note cites the Corning name as "associated with the triumphs of a political dynasty," but beyond this, the book includes little more of politics than a few lobbying episodes. Actually Corning played closely related dual roles; his political influence exerted through the Democratic machine known as the "Albany Regency" cannot be excised from his business activities. Here his biography is only partial. Miss Neu might, perhaps, better have reused the title of her unpublished Ph.D. dissertation in economics, "A Business Biography of Erastus Corning." Nevertheless, the fragment is

rewarding. The author demonstrates the dividend earned by investing years of research in an integrated line of exploration. Since 1945 she has been working and occasionally reporting (alone and in collaboration with other scholars) on canal and railroad building, land speculation, the social origins of America's industrial elite, and Corning's business activities. This enables her to handle expertly the lacunae resulting from serious gaps in primary sources resulting from a dearth of outgoing correspondence and of account books. Readers can regard her carefully formed probabilities as based on knowledge in depth. Her book illustrates an aspect of American history in need of restudy: the many-sided entrepreneur of the period could simultaneously exploit facets of the nation's burgeoning economy, often accelerating the pace of change, sometimes retarding it, and thus generally confounding facile attempts at rigid classifications of regions, classes, and occupations. Corning amassed his eight millions by functioning as merchant, iron manufacturer, railroad contractor and president, banker, land speculator, politician, and consolidator of the New York Central, one entrepreneurship often fostering another. His was a divided personality. His right hand as ironmaster might involve a partner lobbying for protection, while his left hand as a railroad president buying English rails might pay a lobbyist in the opposite direction. As antiwar Democrat he opposed some of Lincoln's policies; as armament contractor he ensured their success. His affiliations could be eastern and western, northern and southern. Another contribution is the detail on land speculation, doubtless helpful to historians intrigued by its tremendous social and political consequences, but not developed here. Finally, the volume demonstrates that in Corning, as in other ambidextrous entrepreneurs, the ability to choose and bind to himself able lieutenants in his multitudinous affairs was in no small part responsible for his wide-ranging success. The book shows considerable compression, but any other than business historians may consider the meticulous details on identities of partnerships and on profits as too much scaffolding left standing in the finished structure. The writing is well done, pictorial presentation is as good as the material and scope permit, and assumptions based on incomplete data are plainly labeled as such. Most important, Miss Neu is no apologist for Corning or for the business ethics of his period. The reader feels the strength of the businessman, up until his retirement, so that the final episode of defeat somehow seems out of character. This fact is in itself a tribute to the author.

University of Pennsylvania

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

THE ENTERPRISING LIFE: JOHN McVICKAR, 1787-1868. By *John Brett Langstaff*. With an introduction by *Allan Nevins*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 427. \$10.00.) John Brett Langstaff, president of the Morris County Historical Society in New Jersey, is an Episcopal clergyman with a passion for history, particularly the history of Anglo-American relations. Years ago he was urged by President Nicholas Murray Butler to write a biography of John McVickar (1787-1868), the Columbia College professor, clergyman, political economist, and Angloophile. Now, after a long period of immersion in the McVickar MSS, Langstaff has emerged with a book whose chief value derives from the masses of unpublished sources on which it is based. McVickar did not know everybody in the Anglo-American world of his time, but he knew many eminent people both in Britain and the United States, and he corresponded with a startling number of them. Those with whom he did not correspond he wrote about in his journals and letters. During a visit to England on the eve of the Reform Act of 1832, he met Sir Walter Scott, Coleridge, Southey, and Wordsworth, among other public figures, and his comments on them and on the issues of their age were filled with insights. Indeed, now that Langstaff has expressed his admiration for

McVickar's achievements as a professor, clergyman, economist, and collector of celebrities, it is to be hoped that, though a septuagenarian, he will muster the energy to bring out a scholarly edition of some of the most valuable letters in the massive collections of the McVickar MSS.

Columbia University

HERMAN AUSUBEL

A GUIDE TO THE PRINCIPAL SOURCES FOR AMERICAN CIVILIZATION, 1800-1900, IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK: MANUSCRIPTS. By *Harry J. Carman* and *Arthur W. Thompson*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1960. Pp. xlviii, 453. \$10.00.) The vast resources in New York City for the study of American history have been made immeasurably more accessible with the publication of this guide to the principal sources on nineteenth-century American politics and civilization. This volume lists only manuscripts; a second will cover printed materials. Together they will constitute the much-needed continuation of the useful *Guide to the Principal Sources for Early American History (1600-1800) in the City of New York*, by *Evarts B. Greene* and *Richard B. Morris*. The present compilation would have immense value if it did no more than give referable arrangement to a listing of the voluminous holdings for this period in the New York Public Library, the New-York Historical Society, the Columbia University Library, and the Pierpont Morgan Library. Its utility, however, is greatly enhanced by citations to the pertinent possessions of sixty-two additional depositories in the New York area. The result is an indispensable tool for students of American history, as well as a guide to opportunities for research. Here are leads to material for dissertations and articles enough to launch the professional careers of as many historians as will be required to meet the much-publicized needs of the coming generation. The citations are arranged by date and geographical location within thirty major topics beginning with "General and Political" and ranging alphabetically thereafter from "Architecture" to "Theatre." Such headings as "Cookery," "Fairs and Expositions," "Immigration," "Medicine, Dentistry, and Pharmacy," "Relief and Reform," and "Social Sciences" exhibit the breadth of the topical distribution. There is an index to the names mentioned in the *Guide*, but the topical headings and their geographical breakdown constitute the only subject index. Something more extensive in this connection would be desirable, but this may not have been practical in view of the physical limitations of the volume and the magnitude of the problem of achieving an adequate subject analysis of the many documents involved. For what is provided here we certainly are indebted to *Carman* and *Thompson*.

New York University

BARND STILL

THE SIEGE OF NEW ORLEANS. By *Charles R. Brooks*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1961. Pp. x, 334. \$6.50.) THE BARATARIANS AND THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS. By *Jane Lucas de Grummond*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1961. Pp. xi, 180. \$4.50.) The War of 1812 deserves more attention from military historians than it has received. A British victory at Plattsburg, perhaps at New Orleans, would have transformed the American future. And yet we have had no study of the New Orleans campaign for a century and in recent years no completely satisfactory work on the war as a whole. By their accounts of the successful defense of Louisiana in 1814-1815, Professors *de Grummond* and *Brooks* recall our attention to a very important but half-forgotten war. The two authors cover approximately the same ground, although Professor *de Grummond's* account is prefaced by two short chapters on the rise of the Baratarians. Both describe British preparations for the assault on New Orleans, including the approaches to *Lafitte* and his colleagues. They then turn to

Jackson's mobilization of forces to oppose the British, the redcoats' landing, and the conflicts that culminated, on January 8, 1815, in the repulse of General Pakenham's attack upon Jackson's fortified line at the Rodriguez Canal. Both authors also touch upon the friction between Jackson and some of the local citizenry, particularly those of French descent. Brooks deals with these events in a detached, sardonic fashion. His account, although sometimes encumbered with lengthy lists of ships, regiments, and casualties, is generally well written. Aside from stressing the ineptitude of the British command, Brooks appears to be willing to let events speak for themselves. Professor de Grummond, on the other hand, is determined to rescue the Baratarians from the neglect under which she alleges they have suffered. She therefore deals less extensively than Brooks with events in which these smuggler-privateers played no part. These volumes appear designed for the lay reader rather than the professional. Brooks has examined no manuscripts, and the collections used by Professor de Grummond, notably not including the Jackson MSS, illuminate almost exclusively the preinvasion activities of Lafitte's men. Professor de Grummond claims too much for the Baratarians; she accepts uncritically an autobiographical account written by Lafitte thirty years later, and she does not always clearly distinguish between Baratarians and other Louisianians who bore French names. Both books contain misleading statements about the underlying policy of the British government. Nevertheless, the two studies, especially *The Siege of New Orleans*, provide welcome, readable accounts of the combined efforts of Baratarians, Frenchmen, and "Americans" under the leadership of Andrew Jackson, who here took a major step toward the White House and installation in the pantheon of American heroes.

University of California, Los Angeles

BRADFORD PERKINS

THE PROUDEST DAY: MACDONOUGH ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN. By Charles G. Muller. (New York: John Day Company. 1960. Pp. viii, 373. \$5.75.) In *The Proudest Day* Charles G. Muller attempts to create realistic impressions of the situation that Commodore Thomas MacDonough faced during the shipbuilding race on Lake Champlain and of the subsequent United States naval victory over the British lake squadron on September 11, 1814. The naval battle off Plattsburg, New York, dramatically staged within sight of opposing armies under Prevost and Macomb, was not so spectacular a victory as Perry's on Lake Erie, but it came at the right time to forestall invasion of the United States from Canada, to avenge the British insult in burning Washington, and to exert a decisive influence upon the peace negotiations at Ghent. Ranging widely over the bibliography of the War of 1812, Muller has compiled an impressive list of sources. Although he knows enough to have produced a sound historical treatise, he has succumbed to the temptation to fictionize. The book is filled with improvised dialogue. He has resorted to "imagination," he frankly states, "to provide . . . scenes of the Commodore's domestic life which have their basis in his and Ann's [his wife's] family letters." Several characters have been "invented to personify documented local background." Since the book's fifteen pages of "notes" amplify topics rather than cite references, it is often impossible for the reader to tell when he is treading on solid or on "made" ground. The book, taken for what it is, fictionized biography, does succeed in communicating a feeling of the difficulties in constructing a naval squadron in the back woods.

United States Naval Academy

RICHARD S. WEST, JR.

FROM ARARAT TO SUBURBIA: THE HISTORY OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF BUFFALO. By Selig Adler and Thomas E. Connolly. [Jacob R. Schiff Library of Jewish Contributions to American Democracy, Number 12.] (Philadelphia:

Jewish Publication Society of America. 1960. Pp. xvi, 498. \$6.00.) The past thirty years of American Jewish historiography have produced a fulsome outpouring of community biographies. The American Jewish Historical Society has underwritten many of these surveys, while more recently the tercentenary celebration of Jewish settlement in the United States has revived interest in such monographs. Thus, in 1954, when the United Jewish Federation of Buffalo, in cooperation with the American Jewish Tercentenary Committee, commissioned Adler and Connolly to chronicle the growth of Buffalo Jewry, the essential lineaments of American Jewish urban history had already been charted. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that this volume provides little new or unexpected information. The rise of Buffalo Jewish life accurately reflects the development of the majority of America's metropolitan Jewish communities. There was the early cluster of colonial families, rapidly inundated during the 1830's and 1840's by German Jewish immigrants; the struggle for economic security, won during the boom years of the Civil War and its aftermath; the arrival in Buffalo of large numbers of East European Jews even before the Russian May Laws of 1881; and the ultimate transformation of Buffalo Jewry into a cohesive, philanthropic, and Zionist replica of nearly every other large and middle-sized Jewish community in the United States. Although their volume contains few important departures of content or interpretation, the authors have profited from the plethora of community histories that preceded theirs. They have known what to look for, how to proportion their narrative intelligently between earlier and later immigration waves. The influence of the Lynds, moreover, is evident in the systematic evaluation of Buffalo Jewry's evolving mores and social patterns. Finally, the book's documentation is exemplary; extensive and valuable use has been made of manuscripts, synagogue minute books, family scrapbooks, newspapers, and periodicals. Perhaps *From Ararat to Suburbia* would have gained in value from a more imaginative examination in depth of selected family odysseys. Similarly, the authors might profitably have explored the psychology of community reaction to anti-Semitism and Communism, rather than relying as heavily as they have upon a description of the organizational and administrative response. But Adler and Connolly cannot be seriously criticized for holding fast to the orthodox historical approach to their subject. They have done a competent and workmanlike job.

Palo Alto, California

HOWARD M. SACHAR

EMOTION AT HIGH TIDE: ABOLITION AS A CONTROVERSIAL FACTOR, 1830-1845. By *Henry H. Simms*. ([Columbus, Ohio: the Author;] distrib. by Moore and Company, Baltimore. 1960. Pp. vi, 243. \$5.00.) Simms says that all the essential elements of the abolition controversy were present by 1845 and that this volume "covers, with greater thoroughness, more facets of the abolition question than any [other] book on the period under consideration." This is true, but the reader wishes he had linked this study with his earlier *A Decade of Sectional Controversy, 1851-1861*, thus providing coverage of those critical six years when significant steps were taken to convert the "impulse" into a sectional "compulsion." Among other things, this book treats the idealistic and militant characteristics of abolition literature, the varied reactions of the North and the South to the abolitionists, the differing views of counterstrategy to be followed by the South, the petition controversy with some reference to the political implications of this facet of the problem, and the role of the abolitionists in Anglo-American relations. Simms's volume is charged with none of the emotion with which the subject was supercharged. The beginning chapter, "A New Era Begins," fails to capture the changing spirit of antislavery sentiment, or the ardor of the reform movement, and sets the tone for a dispassionate and detached accounting and recording of the relevant events that

the fifteen years involved. Even the samples chosen to illustrate attack and counter-attack omit the vitriolic, vehement, picturesque, and fish market language of the politician, speaker, editor, and pulpit orator. Reason rather than emotion appears as the dominant theme. While the desirability of devoting fifty-four of the 232 pages to the petition controversy is questionable, the detailed recounting does reveal the manner in which the right of petition was tied to other constitutional guarantees and the effect of this link on the abolitionists' attempt to win the North after defeat in their rather dubious experiment to convert the South. Other material enables one to see the sharp division of sentiment within the free and slave areas, to understand that "abolition" meant different things to different people, to illustrate that Whigs and Democrats were accused of abolitionism whenever and wherever such accusation was to the advantage of the political opposition, and to show how the American abolitionists tried to have England exert her influence in various ways against slavery in the United States. The author, steeped in years of research in this field, might have provided a greater service than he has by further showing the interrelations of his material and by engaging in more evaluation and interpretation. The volume ends abruptly.

Indiana University

CHASE C. MOONEY

CONVENTION DECISIONS AND VOTING RECORDS. By *Richard C. Bain*. (Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution. 1960. Pp. xi, 327. \$6.75.) This work is intended as a companion volume to *The Politics of National Party Conventions*, by Paul T. David, Ralph M. Goldman, and Richard C. Bain. Designed purely for reference purposes, it makes no effort to offer a connected narrative. The only compromise that it makes to the orientation of the reader is a brief introduction preceding the material on each pair of conventions, giving some account of the national and intraparty situations of the time. Indeed, other than these introductory notes, the scope of the book is deliberately circumscribed by the rigorous exclusion of any material other than the contents of the printed proceedings of the major parties' conventions for the period 1832-1956. Within this framework the author has done an admirable job of providing a series of synopses of the official proceedings. In addition, whenever a convention provides sufficient voting division, Bain furnishes a statistical analysis of "key votes." From this analysis, he contends, "considerable information can be gained about the elements forming the ultimate nominating coalition, and the strategies of the contenders can be seen with new insight." Nearly a third of the book is devoted to appendixes. One appendix provides a list of men who have been prominent in national nominating conventions, a few biographical facts for each, and a mention of the conventions in which each participated. Another appendix gives a state-by-state record of roll call votes (a careful sampling in the case of the longer conventions). The value of this work for the historical researcher is, of course, limited by its very narrow confines. Yet even within these limits, would it be wise to rely upon a synopsis of the action of a convention based upon the uncorroborated report of the official proceedings? The statistical analysis of key votes is another matter entirely. Here, Bain may well provide material that could add further dimension to a historical analysis involving a discussion of a nominating convention.

Tulane University

W. BURLIE BROWN

CALIFORNIA'S ARCHITECTURAL FRONTIER: STYLE AND TRADITION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Harold Kirker*. [Huntington Library Publications.] (San Marino, Calif.: the Library. 1960. Pp. xiv, 224. \$7.50.) As Kirker says, there have been no serious studies of nineteenth-century California architecture until

comparatively recently. A thoughtful history of the period from 1835 to just after 1900, Kirker's handsomely designed book is based on a Ph.D. thesis for the University of California; it has the positive and negative qualities of a revised and published thesis. The bibliographical notes are a clear and accurate guide for students of this field; the biographical notes, while admittedly incomplete, are an excellent foundation for future individual studies. The best chapter is "The Great Immigration," where Kirker provides a series of portraits of personalities, heretofore studied only haphazardly, who reveal the unusual cosmopolitanism of northern California architecture after the gold rush. The book is primarily concerned with the social history of northern California architecture between 1849 and 1869, since the area south of Monterey and Fresno was economically and architecturally less developed until the advent of railroads in the South. Kirker's most serious failing in this otherwise solidly documented and archivally oriented study is his inability to create a consistent aesthetic and architectural historical viewpoint. He simply does not know architecture as well as social history, and he concludes by falling into the same morass of confused descriptive terms that have trapped less serious writers before him. Here and there are indications of acquaintance with Hitchcock's monumental study of nineteenth- and twentieth-century architecture of Western Europe and the United States, but there is no real understanding of what the Renaissance and baroque were historically as they underlay the nineteenth century. Furthermore, there is a complete disregard for the mannered quality (Italian Mannerist) of California architecture in the 1850's and 1860's, which makes it a special variant of American development in that period. As a result, buildings which are distinctly Mannerist in source are called "baroque"; and one is faced with an architectural historical nomenclature, such as "Gothic mode" and "Monterey Colonial style," or such outright historical misalliances as "Second Empire or Louis Philippe style," that are unworthy of the contemporary historical scholarship of the author. Submission of the manuscript to the scrutiny of a colleague in architectural history might have eliminated some of the outdated aesthetic judgments and the capricious interpretation of such terms as "baroque" and "renaissance." There are comparatively few factual errors, and despite its architectural naïveté (by no means unique to Kirker), this book will be a fundamental part of present and future research on nineteenth-century California architects.

University of California, Berkeley

JOSEPH BAIRD

POLK AND THE PRESIDENCY. By *Charles A. McCoy*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1960. Pp. xiii, 238. \$4.50.) This is a minor contribution to our knowledge of the American presidency in the so-called middle period. The political scientist's topical arrangement gives the volume whatever value it has, the author having tried to do for James K. Polk substantially what Robert J. Morgan set out to accomplish for John Tyler in *A Whig Embattled*. It is regrettable that the workmanship is third rate. Errors abound, especially where personalities are concerned. Senator Daniel S. Dickinson of New York is both "Dickson" and "Dickinson." Attorney General John Y. Mason is both "George" and "John." Secretary of the Treasury Robert J. Walker is "James" and "Robert J." William O. Butler is simply "Butler" in the text and "Butler, Benjamin F." in the index. Nathan Towson is "Townsend." John J. Crittenden is "Crittendon." It may be argued that individually these defects are of little importance. But, repeated again and again, they naturally affect the reader's confidence. The indexing is deplorable, such names as Atocha, Corcoran, Duncan, Jesup, Perry, Sevier, and Tappan having been omitted. And are political scientists not taught to include the first names and middle initials of the people they write about? A more serious criticism concerns the

small amount of manuscript material consulted and the paucity of Whig sources of all kinds. The minimizing of Whig records is tantamount to other authors' ignoring Democratic estimates of Warren G. Harding's White House years, or Federalist thrusts at President Thomas Jefferson. Granted that heavy reliance on the famous Polk diary is inevitable, can one imagine a good historian publishing a study so far out of balance? For the present, Eugene I. McCormac's *James K. Polk: A Political Biography* remains the best work on the subject. With many of McCoy's interpretations and conclusions (most of them old), I happen to agree. Like numerous other attempts at scholarship, however, this one would have benefited from deeper digging, wider ranging, and tidier housekeeping.

University of Kentucky

HOLMAN HAMILTON

MESSINGER OF DESTINY: THE CALIFORNIA ADVENTURES, 1846-1847, OF ARCHIBALD H. GILLESPIE, U. S. MARINE CORPS. By *Werner H. Marti*. [John Howell Series on the U. S. Navy in Old California.] (San Francisco, Calif.: John Howell. 1960. Pp. viii, 147. \$12.50.) History, although frequently fashioned by little-known men, does not always rescue them from oblivion. A minor biography such as this one runs a greater risk of remaining unpublished than does the historical portraiture of major figures, particularly commissioned canvasses. Because most biographers select the "publicly great" as their subjects, it is satisfying to hail the appearance of studies that concern men not so well known. In 1846 Lieutenant Archibald H. Gillespie, disguised as a merchant, delivered to the military explorer John C. Frémont a crucial series of secret instructions from President James K. Polk which helped determine the American role in California on the eve of the Mexican War. The major focus of this book concerns that crucial year in the life of these key figures. Using scarce source materials, Marti reinterprets the perilous events behind the military conquest of California. The encounter between Frémont and Gillespie is the high point of his volume. After that event Gillespie, except for brief prominence as military commandant of Los Angeles during a local rebellion there and auxiliary service during the Battle of San Pascual, which was followed by his testimony at Frémont's court martial, fades into obscurity. It is the Gillespie who actively participated in the central events of the conquest of California who will most interest the reader. This book and books of its type perform their best function in filling in the details of events sketched all too broadly by general histories.

Occidental College

ANDREW F. ROLLE

THE CONFEDERACY. By *Charles P. Roland*. [The Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1960. Pp. xiii, 218. \$3.95.) In the welter of books about the Civil War Professor Roland's modest little book is refreshing, sincere, and interesting. It is very well written and is distinguished by its balance and its skillful integration of military history with the politics and economics of the Confederacy. On highly controversial questions the author tends to present the evidence on both sides without himself taking a firm stand. Although he writes that Jefferson Davis' personality was unsuited to the tasks before him, his portrait of the Confederate president is fair, judicious, and withal sympathetic. He notes that Davis shared a common failing of southerners, an exaggerated pride, leading to "a vendetta of egos," both within the civil government and among the military officers—conflicts that greatly weakened the Confederacy. His concern with military history is largely confined to the effect of victories and defeats on politics, diplomacy, and the morale of the people. He gives a fresh and vivid evaluation of Secretary of War James A. Seddon, who had

extremely intelligent ideas on strategy, but despite his ability to get along with Davis could not carry them into execution. The great mistake of Confederate strategy was not the defensive policy that Davis adopted but the failure to develop a unified command. The result was a lack of teamwork: "the right hand knew not what the left hand was about." His analysis of economic developments in the Confederacy and of its monetary policies is clearly organized and sound, with emphasis on the refusal of Congress to tax the people realistically. One of the virtues of this study is a comprehensive picture of the southern people during the war years, including the contributions and limitations of the yeoman farmers, the people in the towns who owned no land and who of all classes were hardest hit by the soaring inflation, the poets and writers, the women, and the slaves. He concludes that the Confederacy lacked the physical assets to win independence, a handicap that was compounded by the disunity of the southern people.

University of Kentucky

CLEMENT EATON

THE NIGHT THE WAR WAS LOST. By *Charles L. Dufour*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1960. Pp. 427. \$4.95.) JUBAL'S RAID: GENERAL EARLY'S FAMOUS ATTACK ON WASHINGTON IN 1864. By *Frank E. Vandiver*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1960. Pp. xiii, 198. \$4.95.) CONFEDERATE STRATEGY FROM SHILOH TO VICKSBURG. By *Archer Jones*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1961. Pp. xxi, 258. \$5.00.) THE IRON BRIGADE: A MILITARY HISTORY. By *Alan T. Nolan*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1961. Pp. xvi, 412. \$6.95.) STORMING OF THE GATEWAY: CHATTANOOGA, 1863. By *Fairfax Downey*. (New York: David McKay Company. 1960. Pp. xiv, 303. \$5.50.) THE CIVIL WAR IN THE NORTHWEST: NEBRASKA, WISCONSIN, IOWA, MINNESOTA, AND THE DAKOTAS. By *Robert Huhn Jones*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1960. Pp. xvi, 216. \$4.00.) THE CIVIL WAR AT SEA. Volume I, THE BLOCKADERS, JANUARY 1861-MARCH 1862. By *Virgil Carrington Jones*. Foreword by *Admiral E. M. Eller*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1960. Pp. xxvi, 483. \$6.00.) While it is certain that the flood of books accompanying the commemoration of the centennial of the Civil War will try the patience of the entire historical fraternity, there is growing evidence that it may lead to at least one happy and unforeseen result. The reader of Civil War history is becoming quite discriminating. Increasingly he is demanding both good writing and good history. The result has been to force the journalist and amateur historian to devote far greater attention to thorough research than he formerly did. It is also forcing the professional and academic historian to search a bit longer for the felicitous phrase or lively image that will make his work more readable. Several of the new Civil War books illustrate the point. Charles Dufour's *The Night the War Was Lost* is the work of a New Orleans newspaperman who has done a first-class piece of research and combined the result with a facile pen to make a book of value and interest to both the specialist and the general reader. One may reject, as I do, Dufour's contention that the war was lost the night Admiral Farragut swept past Forts Jackson and St. Philip to recapture New Orleans for the federal government, without at the same time denying that the incident was a major strategic move and one that marked an important defeat for the Confederacy. Dufour's analysis of the reasons for southern weaknesses on the lower Mississippi is nicely balanced by his colorful descriptions of the sights and sounds of Farragut's fleet passing the batteries. Professor Vandiver's *Jubal's Raid* provides evidence that some professional historians are meeting the challenge offered by talented amateurs like Dufour. As Vandiver explains it, the strategic purpose of Early's attack on Washington was to create a diversion that would loosen Grant's hold on Petersburg and reduce the federal threat to Richmond's

lifeline to the South. Grant detached some forces to meet Early, but he was not diverted, and the Confederates were forced to retreat after accomplishing little beyond throwing Washington into a panic. Vandiver's account of the high hopes and shattered dreams that rode with Early's dusty veterans is, of course, based on thorough research. It is also a soundly constructed and deftly written narrative. Perhaps the most thoughtful book in the current crop is Archer Jones's study of *Confederate Strategy from Shiloh to Vicksburg*, in which he attempts to analyze the relations between Jefferson Davis, his secretaries of war, and his field commanders. Jones takes particular pains with the implications of the efforts of Davis, Secretaries George W. Randolph and James A. Seddon, and General Joseph E. Johnston to work out a system of departmental field commands. He is very effective in showing both the causes and the consequences of a strategy based on relatively uncoordinated geographical departments. Jones makes it clear that the realities of Confederate-state relations and the limited communication and transportation facilities of the 1860's, rather than any obtuseness on the part of Davis, were the source of the departmental strategy. Both Davis and Johnston grow in stature in this fine study. *The Iron Brigade* by Alan T. Nolan is another example of splendid history written by a talented amateur who possesses a flair for research and writing. The Iron Brigade consisted of the Second, Sixth, and Seventh Wisconsin Volunteers and the Nineteenth Indiana Volunteers. One of the few western outfits to fight in the Army of the Potomac, the "Black Hat Brigade" suffered such fearful casualties that it finally disappeared entirely in the flames of Gettysburg. Nolan's book is a model military unit history. Fairfax Downey's *Storming of the Gateway* is a curious mixture of information about the mountains, the men, the weapons, and the generals who gathered to contest the gateway into Georgia in the summer of 1863. Neither the specialist nor the general reader will find much that is new or significant in this little compendium. A worthwhile book, and one that has succeeded in working new ground, is *The Civil War in the Northwest* by Robert Huhn Jones. It is notable for a long-overdue re-evaluation of General John Pope, as well as for a balanced account of the Sioux uprising of 1862, and a close look at the actual operation of a frontier military department. It is a substantial contribution to frontier history as well as to the history of the Civil War. A more ambitious work is Virgil Carrington Jones's projected three-volume history of the naval war entitled *The Civil War at Sea*. Volume I, *The Blockaders*, is a fast-moving narrative of naval operations between January 1861 and the *Monitor-Merrimack* fight in March 1862. It is a well-written story of men and machines which focuses on the colorful event and the striking individual. Clearly designed for the general reader, *The Blockaders* makes little effort to probe beneath the surface or analyze the issues and principles involved in the attempted Union blockade or to measure the impact of the revolution in naval warfare then under way. Specialists in naval history will not be able to grant the dust jacket claim of "definitive study," but they will enjoy this well-told tale.

University of Maryland

DAVID S. SPARKS

THE WILDERNESS CAMPAIGN. By Edward Steere. [Civil War Campaigns.] (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Company. 1960. Pp. 522. \$7.50.) The "fog of war" lay heavily over the Wilderness of Virginia on May 5-6, 1864, when Generals Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee tried each other's strength for the first time on a Civil War battlefield, and it lies there still; for the historian who would dispel it completely is confronted with seemingly insuperable problems in the form of missing, vague, and conflicting evidence. No one is more aware of this than Edward Steere, but the difficulties of the task have not prevented him from penetrating the fog in many places and achieving a solid work in analytical military history. Though Steere combines in

his personal experience the skills and knowledge of journalist, historian, and combat soldier, his chief asset has been the good, unspecialized one of painstaking thoroughness and accuracy (except in proofreading, which did not eliminate several glaring but unimportant errors). If he has brought relatively little fresh manuscript material to bear upon his subject, he has combed the printed sources, personally studied the physical terrain, and endeavored with much success to trace the exact movements of key infantry, artillery, and cavalry units on both sides. His new hypotheses regarding logistics and tactics and his discerning comments on the generalship of Grant, Lee, and their subordinates, are presented in clear, straightforward prose and by means of excellent military maps which form an integral part of the text. Grant, in his opinion, was the better strategist; Lee, the better tactician and more inspiring leader. The inconclusive Wilderness fighting he sees as the first phase of continuing conflict that swept in a wide arc around Richmond to the trenches of Petersburg and that might well be considered, in the modern sense, a single forty-four-day battle, the "Battle of Virginia."

University of Colorado

HAL BRIDGES

FRONTIER WAYS: SKETCHES OF LIFE IN THE OLD WEST. By *Edward Everett Dale*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1959. Pp. xiv, 265. \$4.50.) Most of the essays appearing in this volume have been published previously. Professor Dale presents collectively a good body of his writings about the West as he has known it as a scholar and as a firsthand participant in its struggle to reach maturity. He has emphasized both the personal and social sides of western life. Basically he has used these aspects as a central theme of pioneering to show what adjustments Americans had to make to a strong and varying frontier environment. He dedicated this volume to his former professor, Frederick Jackson Turner, but he makes clear in his foreword that he has no desire to enter into controversy over the Turner thesis. He does, however, declare his own belief that the environment of the southwestern plains differed radically from that which settlers had known much earlier. Those coming from wooded and well-watered areas had to make many adjustments in the use of land and resources. Two essays deal with the subject of food and cookery. The cowboy subsisted on food that refuted in every mouthful the more scientific contentions of modern medical societies and dietitians. Those dietary specialists who are constantly frightening the wits out of Americans would have given the cowboy up for lost in the battle with cholesterol before breakfast. The plainsman's diet suggests pure gastronomic suicide. The author speaks with a certainty born of both historical research and actual personal experience with "Cowboy Cookery" and "Food of the Frontier." Boiled coffee, fatback bacon, and sour dough biscuit were food for strong men. Dale has produced in these essays a highly readable and useful study of the casual "everyday" pattern of life of people who struggled mightily with rugged environment on the southwestern plains. It is, however, more than this: it is an analysis of the pioneer experience wherever settlers came into direct contact with the raw environment of a new country. Environment differed as did the availability of materials and natural resources, but the human institutions remained much the same in their broad outline. This volume gives a good "folksy" insight into a raw human society that was combating an unrelenting environment on one side and aspiring to mature as a social system on the other. Dale adds a warm sentimental touch to his essays, which gives foundation for his human approach to frontier history.

University of Kentucky

THOMAS D. CLARK

DANIEL COIT GILMAN AND THE PROTEAN PH.D.: THE SHAPING OF AMERICAN GRADUATE EDUCATION. By *Francesco Cordasco*. (Leiden: E. J. Brill.

1960. Pp. xii, 160. Cloth \$4.80, paper \$4.00.) Daniel Coit Gilman, who did more than any other man to make publication a major test of worth for American university professors, lived to express fears that this emphasis had become "infelicitous." This volume, an attempt to chart Gilman's contribution to higher education, exemplifies the infelicity. It will lengthen bibliographies without deepening knowledge. Its major conclusions, that Gilman did not simply import the German university, that his method was eclectic, that his standards for Johns Hopkins were widely imitated, are already known. The author appears more eager to pile up "authorities" than to analyze and interpret his sources. The result is a clutter of irrelevant footnotes, choppy quotations from secondary and tertiary sources, and undigested quotations from primary sources. Significant errors of fact mar the book. For example, in advising the Hopkins trustees, White of Cornell and Angell of Michigan did not seem "to agree that co-education was wrong"; in fact, they headed institutions where they believed coeducation was succeeding. The author is eager to tell how many "authorities" have not made various points. One document "is not noted by" five different scholars. These irrelevant indictments are not always accurate. The statement that there is no notice of Henry George's attack on the University of California by his biographers, for instance, ignores the careful analysis of the matter in Charles A. Barker's *Henry George*. Cordasco's volume will have its uses. Although he has dealt only superficially with most of the sources, the bibliography is extensive. His long quotations and two appendixes give the book value as a collection of documents. But those seeking a book of this length on Gilman and his work will be better satisfied with the humane and readable study by Abraham Flexner.

Amherst College

HUGH HAWKINS

REBECCA LATIMER FELTON: NINE STORMY DECADES. By *John E. Talmadge*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 187. \$4.50.) "The Lady from Georgia," Rebecca Latimer (Mrs. William Harrell) Felton, by sufferance and for a single day in 1922 "first woman United States Senator," began her feminist career as backstage political manager for her husband, congressman from Georgia, 1875-1881. An aggressive, complex woman who belied her later grandmotherly appearance, she championed causes such as prison reform, prohibition, and women's rights. By turns reformer and reactionary, she vigorously defended lynching and child labor. Her vitriolic pen spared few Georgians, and even her idol, Alexander H. Stephens, betrayed her. Only "Tom" Watson, whom she joined in a violent, irrational anti-Wilson crusade in 1920, remained constant. Mr. Talmadge recounts judiciously in this well-documented volume Mrs. Felton's bellicose nine decades, illuminating the post-bellum Georgia scene and the New South.

Washington and Lee University

OLLINGER CRENSHAW

CHARLES RICHARD VAN HISE: SCIENTIST PROGRESSIVE. By *Maurice M. Vance*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1960. Pp. 246. \$6.00.) The progressive movement at the opening of this century was dominated by such men as Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Robert La Follette. But in a lower echelon were men who have been passed over and largely forgotten. Among the latter the author modestly claims a place for Charles R. Van Hise, president of the University of Wisconsin from 1903 to 1918. Van Hise may have waited overlong for a biographer, but in Vance he has found a wholly adequate one evidently trained in science (geology) and history. Almost fifty pages of footnotes attest to the thoroughness of his research. His style is clear and shows wide reflection on the problems that faced Van Hise as a geologist, conservationist, and educator. Van Hise came to university life as a homely,

roughhewn, unsocialized product of a small town, not brilliant but eager and a good organizer of his material. He fell under the influence of a brilliant geologist, Roland Irving, and went on to take his doctorate, the first given by the university. The early death of Irving made Van Hise his successor on the state and federal geological surveys. Through his research Van Hise became the leading authority on pre-Cambrian and metamorphic rocks. When President C. K. Adams died, a few of Van Hise's colleagues headed by Frederick Jackson Turner urged the election of Van Hise. The regent's committee could not bring itself to recommend him. Finally the board, all appointed or reappointed by his classmate, Governor Robert La Follette, took matters in their own hands and elected Van Hise. He immediately revealed one personal defect, the absence of a sense of humor. As an extempore speaker to alumni he showed little carry-over from the rigid drill he had undergone as a representative of his literary society in the joint debate that outranked athletics in his day. His dogged optimism that truth will prevail if the facts are presented ultimately won the respect, if not always the acquiescence, of the various groups with which a state university has to deal. And he found time to publish what in its day was the best book on conservation. Van Hise's greatest service was the standard he set for faculty appointments and promotions. He had been a researcher, and he insisted on producing scholars. The good faculty of Bascom, Chamberlin, and Adams became one in the first rank. Its services were borrowed by the La Follette Progressives to draft legislation and to serve on state commissions. This was defensible because the university is the state thinking, and the people are entitled to the services of its best and most constructive thinking. The anti-La Follette stalwart faction bided its time, but Van Hise stood firm for the university's activities. At the urging of Charles McCarthy, a Brown graduate, Van Hise backed a program of university extension in fields other than agriculture. This combination of state service by the faculty and extension was the "Wisconsin Idea." Educators, reformers, and journalists came to see it work and went away to praise. The author has done full justice to his subject. I rose from a reading of his volume with a deepened appreciation of Charles R. Van Hise.

Washington, D. C.

GUY STANTON FORD

EUGENE CLYDE BROOKS: EDUCATOR AND PUBLIC SERVANT. By *Willard B. Gatewood, Jr.* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 279. \$6.00.) In the twentieth century North Carolina has generally been considered to be the most progressive among southern states in highway building, industrialization, and education. The contribution of Eugene C. Brooks to his native state in various fields of education is the theme of Gatewood's sympathetic but not uncritical study. The author traces his subject from boyhood in rural Lenoir County through young Brooks's course at Trinity College and vividly describes this energetic schoolman as teacher and principal in a succession of North Carolina localities. Meanwhile he had enlisted in Governor Aycock's educational campaign. This activity, together with his success as a school administrator, attracted widespread favorable attention. Called in 1907 to the first chair of education at Trinity, he cooperated with a remarkable group of academic colleagues, including Professors Mims, Laprade, and Boyd, in broadening the curriculum and in the writing of textbooks in the fields of history, civics, geography, and literature. Brooks's *The Story of Cotton . . .* (1911) "was acclaimed throughout the country as an epochal work in historical literature for children." Elected superintendent of public instruction of North Carolina in 1919, he served in that office until 1923 with dynamic energy, imagination, and distinction. While at Trinity he had contributed tirelessly to educational journals. Dedicated to the cause of educational reform,

he championed in them teacher certification, improved training and better salaries, richer and more useful curricula, consolidated county high schools, and more efficient school administration and finance. For his day Brooks was liberal in his Negro educational program. Statewide educational work brought him into contact with related needs, for which he campaigned with accustomed zeal. The last phase of Brooks's career was spent as president of North Carolina State College, 1923-1934, in which post he was on the whole successful through curricular reorganization and reinvigoration of what had been a somewhat lagging institution. There, too, he encountered personnel problems, the most serious of which was the dismissal of Dean Carl C. Taylor, an episode not thoroughly ventilated by Gatewood. A final disappointment for Brooks came with the "consolidation" of State College in the greater University of North Carolina system, climaxed by illness and enforced retirement in 1934. Students of the "newer" New South will find this careful, clearly written, and well-organized volume, based upon a wealth of manuscript, newspaper, and printed materials, a useful adjunct to their own investigations.

Washington and Lee University

OLLINGER CRENSHAW

RIGHT-HAND MAN: THE LIFE OF GEORGE W. PERKINS. By *John A. Garraty*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1960. Pp. xii, 433. \$7.50.) This business and political biography of George W. Perkins, Sr., fills a serious void in the literature on the century's early progressive movement, a study of the right-hand man to J. P. Morgan, Sr., then the nation's largest business tycoon, and to Theodore Roosevelt, the nation's Progressive party leader. The apparent incongruity of the two roles alone incites interest in such a work, but more important, it rounds out the many recent studies of the principal actors on the Progressive stage, Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Robert M. La Follette, Sr., Gifford Pinchot, Charles Evans Hughes, and Elihu Root. Professor Garraty sees no incongruity in Perkins' roles, although Gifford and Amos Pinchot thought it hardly appropriate for such an industrial titan to carry the Progressive party banner of social and political justice. The author sees a logical progression in Perkins' growth, from youth in the New York Life Insurance Company, to its inner ruling circle, thence to the House of Morgan, and in 1912, to an intense interest in Theodore Roosevelt's presidential aspirations, and subsequently, his Bull Moose candidacy. In the progression Perkins applied the same standards, those of personal honesty, public service, social enlightenment, and harmony of interests. Thus, it was logical that Perkins, a business integrator, would interest himself in a political movement geared not only to reform, but also to governmental regulation of "trusts" rather than their dissolution. Of course, many Progressives questioned Perkins' sincerity on "trust" regulation, but Garraty rightly concludes that, although still challenged, Perkins' "basic political idea about the relation of government and big business . . . comes every year closer to acceptance in the modern world." I feel that while Perkins was not deserving of the chastisement heaped upon him by the New York Life investigators, and subsequently by the Pinchot brothers, he was more solicitous of "trusts" interests than the author indicates. *Right-Hand Man* is a good book. It is well documented with pertinent primary and secondary sources. Its good organization, along chronological lines, is happily aided by Perkins having devoted the first half of the progressive years, to 1912, to the House of Morgan, and the second half, to 1917, to the Progressive party. Garraty writes well and interestingly. He is concerned just enough about his subject's personal affairs to show their relationship to the business and political man. The book is just long enough. The life of Perkins deserves no more, no less.

State University Teachers College, Geneseo, New York

MARTIN L. FAUSOLD

MONOPOLY ON WHEELS: HENRY FORD AND THE SELDEN AUTOMOBILE PATENT. By *William Greenleaf*. Foreword by *Allan Nevins*. (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 302. \$5.95.) "Involvement in the Selden patent war thrust upon Henry Ford the beginnings of a legend." The Selden patent case was much more than a legal duel. Professor Greenleaf's story is a commentary on the development of the American patent system, on the process of invention and commercialization, on the trust movement, and on the social and political milieu. While he declares that the suit was lacking in vivid scenes, his awareness of its many ramifications and a flair for dramatic writing produce an engrossing book. The title expresses the hope rather than the achievement of the Whitney traction forces and the Association of Licensed Automobile Manufacturers. Together they controlled the patent of George B. Selden, a patent lawyer, who in 1895 received a patent for an automobile powered by a light internal combustion engine, a patent initially sought in 1879. For the over-capitalized, scandal-seared Whitney Company the patent represented financial salvation through royalties. To the harassed manufacturers it was a tool to control a chaotic industry. To Ford it meant an eight-year legal struggle from which he emerged as the self-reliant, knight-errant industrialist who slayed monopoly. Greenleaf participated in the Ford Motor Company history project sponsored by Columbia University. While he overplays the contrast between Ford as the producer of popular inexpensive cars and the ALAM as manufacturers of luxury models for the few, he points out Ford's errors and the complexity of his motivation. He shows much insight into Selden's position, but his technique of flash backs disrupts the story of Selden's contributions, and a few drama heightening sentences have the effect of harsh prejudgments. His treatment of the founding of the ALAM is sympathetic as is his tribute to its long-term achievements in cross-patenting and standardization. Not only does he handle legal and technical points with dexterity, but he cuts through the haze that the propaganda of the times and the legends of the intervening years have created.

Wheaton College

NANCY NORTON

STEELWORKERS IN AMERICA: THE NONUNION ERA. By *David Brody*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 45.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 303. \$5.00.) The story of the unionization of iron- and steelworkers in the half century before 1930 is a dismal one with few heroes (but including Warren G. Harding!) and several devils, yet it is an account basic to our understanding of the combination of resources, labor, capital, and management in one of the nation's most important types of manufacturing. Dr. Brody has provided a concise, well-balanced description, with enough of the technical, economic, and social aspects to round out the picture. This clearly written and well-organized book opens with emphasis on the impact of the sharp competitive struggle that kept wages down in the late nineteenth century and shows the importance of a stable labor force led by a few highly skilled natives, fed by a large immigrant group, and dominated by a squalid mill town life. When changing technology and concentration of control raised hope of improvement as the twentieth century opened, Morgan and Gary turned increasingly antiunion until an open-shop policy was announced in 1909. The rise, waverings, and decline of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers exemplify many of labor's mistakes and indicate the pitfalls inherent in an attempt to combine craft and industrial unionism. The prelude for industry-wide organization began before World War I, was strengthened by wartime developments, and in some ways was supported by the 1919 strike, bitter though its outcome. Footnotes and bibliography indicate judicious use of a wide variety of primary and secondary materials with particular reliance on trade

journals, union records, national government documents, and letters to the editors of union periodicals. Tables showing the size, location, and wages of the labor force would have been a useful addition. Brody has well filled a serious gap in our shelf of labor history.

University of Cincinnati

GEORGE B. ENGBERG

WOODROW WILSON: AN INTIMATE MEMOIR. By *Rear Admiral Cary T. Grayson*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1960. Pp. xi, 143. \$3.50.) The manuscript of this book was discovered, along with a diary, among the papers of the late Admiral Grayson. Its chief merit is its depiction of the "human side" of Woodrow Wilson, whom the author served as personal physician for approximately a decade. Unpretentious but engaging in style, it is replete with anecdotes illustrating Wilson's winsome sense of humor and his devotion to his family and friends. But historians will be somewhat skeptical about the accuracy of Grayson's account of what was said on one occasion in the Council of Four. And they will also want to know whether the original manuscript of Grayson's memoir was published only in part or otherwise edited, whether the complete Grayson diary will be published eventually, and, if not, whether it will be made available to scholars.

Princeton University

JOHN WELLS DAVIDSON

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY SINCE WORLD WAR II. By *John W. Spanier*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1960. Pp. viii, 234. \$4.50.) This volume provides a useful analysis of American foreign policy since 1945, written largely within the context of the Truman-Acheson rationale of world affairs. It traces uncritically the burgeoning effort of the Democratic leadership of the late forties to build a viable North Atlantic Treaty structure through economic and military aid. Having accepted Acheson's premise that Western power and unity are the keys to free world security, the author repeats the standard criticism of journalists, political scientists, and historians that the Eisenhower administration weakened the American power structure by undermining the nation's limited war capability, refusing to match the Soviet achievement in space, rocketry, and missiles, and failing to create an expanded, long-range program of economic aid for underdeveloped countries. For the author the answer to the pressures of the Communist bloc resides in the creation of additional means in the form of conventional armed forces and bigger and better foreign aid programs. The cold war, he repeats, will be won or lost in Asia and Africa. In an excellent introductory chapter Spanier attributes the inadequacy of the American response to the Soviet challenge to the tradition of American liberalism which, in its abhorrence of strong government, power politics, and violence, always seeks a rational world in which all conflicts, even among nations, can be resolved through argument and moral exhortation. It is this tradition which has made it difficult for the American people to accept the policies and purposes of those nations which always seem to prevent the creation of a rational and peaceful world. But by ignoring the question of ends completely, this volume fails to apply its fundamental precepts to the subject at hand. Additional military preparedness might enhance free world security, but it will not resolve the cold war on American terms. What is needed in American leadership is less the demand for additional defense than the admission that no amount of military power will achieve much more than the present *status quo* vis-à-vis both Russia and China. Should the cold war terminate in an American *Götterdämmerung*, as the author properly warns, it will come not only because the nation was too weak but also because it failed to define its own interests.

University of Illinois

NORMAN A. GRAEBNER

KOREA AND THE FALL OF MacARTHUR: A PRÉCIS IN LIMITED WAR. By *Trumbull Higgins*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 229. \$5.00.) The Korean War, particularly the issues involved in its origins and conduct, still stirs emotions in a manner that makes detached analysis difficult. Most studies published to date have been partisan, and it is likely that many years will pass before many of the important aspects can be viewed in proper perspective. Meanwhile Trumbull Higgins has made a major scholarly contribution in distilling some of the important issues and problems involved in the "great debate" about Korea. In twelve short chapters, tightly packed, he presents a valuable analysis of the many implications of fighting a limited war in an age of unlimited weapons. While much of his discussion inevitably centers around the dynamic and controversial General Douglas MacArthur, Higgins' major concern is with the difficulties in defining how the war was to be limited and at the same time United Nations objectives achieved. The work is well documented and very well researched. It pulls no punches, as it points out the inconsistencies on all sides of the argument over how the war should have been fought. It points inevitably toward the conclusion that the question of the conduct of the war in Korea was not decided on the basis of the merits of the various arguments but rather by the critical state of United States unpreparedness. Higgins has not produced a history of the Korean War. His study ends with the recall of MacArthur and the dramatic congressional hearings that followed. Nor is this a place to find consideration of the impact of the war on Korea itself, an analysis of the Communist enemy, or a depicting of battles and campaigns. Again, the full intensity of the emotional outburst on the American scene attendant upon the frustrations in Korea is not one of the major concerns of this volume. Senator McCarthy is not even mentioned. A work of limited scope, this is a clearheaded, analytical treatment of the strategic issues involved in Korea and how they were handled by the major American statesmen. As such it is a work of real scholarship.

University of South Carolina RICHARD L. WALKER

LATIN AMERICA

CULTURE AND CONQUEST: AMERICA'S SPANISH HERITAGE. By *George M. Foster*. [Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, Number 27.] (Chicago: Viking Books. 1960. Pp. ix, 272. \$6.00.) This substantial volume provides a systematic view of Spanish rural and village life today, as a means of understanding the basic Spanish culture carried to America in the sixteenth century and its effect on the Indian cultures. Spanish society is so conservative that many old customs and ideas have survived the centuries, and their study today, supplemented by historical data, makes possible a fresh approach to the conquest. Combining extensive field work and library research, Dr. Foster draws up his theoretical model of the "conquest culture," giving at the beginning of each chapter a brief statement on transferences and modifications in Spanish America. These comparisons, the chapter on "Contemporary Hispanic American Culture," and the conclusion in which the author applies his concept of "cultural crystallization" to the early history of the New World, will particularly interest historians. The idea that the fundamental cultural influences were crystallized in the early decades of the conquest and determined the form of the new society deserves close attention. Foster also emphasizes that students of Spanish America need to know much more about Spanish culture and that the rich and diversified peninsular culture could be only partially used or absorbed in America. The detail in this book is at times overwhelming, but there are some light notes, such as that in Huesca "shepherds sometimes serenade ewes on the guitar to induce them to give milk." The author makes clear how

much is still to be done: "We know almost nothing of the operations of the great haciendas that characterized much of Spanish-speaking America," nor of such a vital subject as renting usages. Much also remains to be done before the differences in various areas of Spanish America are adequately known, and at this time most generalizations are perilous. In this pioneer, necessarily incomplete study, gaps are to be seen; information on the introduction of plants and animals to the New World is disappointingly meager. While the bibliography lists an impressive amount of material on Spain, the Spanish American part is incomplete. That Foster draws heavily upon his own studies of certain Mexican areas is natural; the question arises as to how far it is permissible for the conclusions arrived at to be applied broadly to "Spanish American culture." One hopes that someday anthropologists will also study the New World's influence on Spain, for this, too, though in reverse, is an integral part of the story.

Columbia University

LEWIS HANKE

ORIGEN DE LOS "INQUILINOS" DE CHILE CENTRAL. By Mario Góngora. (Santiago de Chile: Universidad de Chile, Seminario de Historia Colonial de la Facultad de Filosofía y Educación. 1960. Pp. 168.) Mario Góngora, in his study of the origins of tenant farming in central Chile, finds that the major adjustment took place before the end of the eighteenth century. He commences with the earliest references to *inquilinaje* by Chilean historians. He is convinced that tenant farming was the result of the incorporation of mestizos into agricultural life, and not a direct outgrowth of the encomienda system. He proceeds to sources, Indian tenancy, "loans" of land, increase in small tenancies, and a sketch of tenant farming toward the end of the colonial epoch. Rural tenancies, says Góngora, from the loan of land to *inquilinaje*, had no direct connection with any of the institutions of the conquest era. The *inquilinos* appeared in the second historical movement during which society became stratified between the landed and the landless. Social stratification intensified in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and as it did, the duties of *inquilinos* became more burdensome. At the same time agricultural emphasis shifted from a pastoral basis to the growing of grains. "Thus," concludes Góngora, "the tenant institutions reflect the agricultural and social history of a whole territory."

University of Florida

DONALD E. WORCESTER

DOCUMENTOS PARA LA HISTORIA DE VENEZUELA. Compiled by José L. Franco. [Publicaciones del Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Number 51.] (Havana: Archivo Nacional. 1960. Pp. cvi, 347.) This volume is the first of a series, planned by the Castro government, to commemorate the sesquicentennial of the independence of Argentina, Mexico, Chile, Colombia, and Venezuela. Its stated purpose is the achievement of greater solidarity among Latin Americans by new methods because "the empty wordiness of the old diplomatic molds accomplished nothing. . . ." The compiler's introduction, however, contains no detectable *Castrista* propaganda. Numbering 389, the documents themselves point up the role of Cuba as a Spanish base in the struggle for Venezuelan independence. The first concerns Miranda, still a loyal officer, in Jamaica in 1781, and the last a report of Bolívar's death.

University of Texas

KARL M. SCHMITT

JOSÉ TORIBIO MEDINA, HUMANIST OF THE AMERICAS: AN APPRAISAL. Edited by Maury A. Bromsen. (Washington, D. C.: Pan American Union, General Secretariat, Organization of American States. 1960. Pp. liv, 295.) Eighteen of the papers, some in revised form, which were read at the Medina Centennial Celebration held in

Washington, D. C., during November 1952 are brought together in this volume. The contributions emphasize the wide range of Medina's interests, since the attention given his bibliographies and his writings on the Spanish Inquisition have often obscured his other publications. Sarah Elizabeth Roberts, for example, stresses his biobibliographical studies, while Irene A. Wright discusses his biographies of the discoverers of the New World, and Robert A. Nesmith focuses upon Medina's contributions in the field of numismatics. Federico de Onís, Arturo Torres-Ríosco, Paul T. Manchester, and Charles Maxwell Lancaster concentrate on Medina as a literary critic and philologist. Perhaps the most valuable contributions are Guillermo Feliú Cruz's "Medina the Man" and Arthur P. Whitaker's "Medina's Concept of History." Feliú Cruz, a disciple of Medina, has sketched a very touching and intimate portrait of his friend and teacher. Whitaker has analyzed Medina's performance as a historian and, while critical of his execution, refutes the view that Medina had no concept of history. Whitaker concludes that Medina was a historian with "a concept of the proper subject-matter of history that was broad and sure; the trouble lies in the fact that his reach exceeded his grasp." The editor, who was also the executive secretary of the 1952 Medina Centennial Celebration, has provided a biographical essay which serves as a useful introduction to the volume. The Medina Centennial Celebration has provided a precedent, and I hope that other worthy Latin American historians, such as Bartolomé Mitre, for example, will also be honored in this fashion.

Arlington, Virginia

JOSEPH R. BARAGER

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★ ★ ★ ★ *Historical News* ★ ★ ★ ★

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The 1961 meeting of the American Historical Association will be held at the Shoreham and Sheraton-Park Hotels, Washington, D. C., December 28-30. John Alden of Duke University is Program Chairman, and David Brandenburg of American University is Chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee.

The study on graduate education in history of the Association's Committee on Graduate Education, "The Education of Historians in America," will be published by McGraw-Hill in late October or early November.

A small brochure, *History as a Career*, has been published by the Association. It is addressed to undergraduates choosing a profession, and copies are available at AHA headquarters, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington 3, D. C.

The new (1961) *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress at Colleges and Universities in the United States* will appear in the fall.

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

The Library of Congress has received the personal papers of Philip C. Jessup, diplomat, educator, jurist, and now member of the International Court of Justice, dating from 1920 to 1956. Outstanding for a study of international law and diplomacy, the collection consists of some 53,000 manuscripts that reflect Jessup's career as a faculty member at Columbia University and his contributions to the work of the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Naval School of Military Government and Administration, UNRRA, and the United Nations. Special permission to use the Jessup papers should be requested through the chief of the Manuscript Division of the Library.

Additions to the manuscript collection of the Naval Historical Foundation include about four thousand papers of Rear Admiral John L. Callan (1886-1958), who trained and organized navy air personnel stationed in France, England, and Italy during World War I; and a supplement of approximately five thousand pieces to the papers of Captain Washington Irving Chambers (1856-1934), which is composed largely of correspondence between 1911 and 1914, while Chambers, under the Bureau of Navigation, was in charge of the development of aviation.

Approximately 25,000 of Theodore Roosevelt, Jr.'s papers have been received from his children and added to a small first installment of Roosevelt papers reported by the Library two years ago. These manuscripts comprise material that touches on many phases of General Roosevelt's diversified career: his military service, political activities, field museum expeditions to Asia, and service as governor of

Puerto Rico (1929-1932) and governor-general of the Philippines (1932-1933). The group also includes some of Mrs. Roosevelt's papers.

The Library has been successful in acquiring, by exchange, microfilm copies of documents relating to the scientific expeditions of Vitus Bering (1681-1741), from original manuscripts among the marine and navy records in Leningrad. The nine reels (about eighteen hundred frames) reproduce a few documents concerning the first expedition to the Sea of Kamchatka, but most of the material centers on the second expedition, 1733-1741. This includes manuscripts about Bering's arrival at Okhotsk; the laying of the keels and the launching of the packet boats *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*; reports by Bering and Chirikov to the Admiralty; and logs kept by participants in the expedition. Purchases from the James B. Wilbur Fund, for the acquisition of reproductions of manuscripts relating to American history in European repositories, include microfilm copies of forty-six additional volumes of Audit Office records relating to claims filed by American Loyalists; forty-seven additional volumes of Colonial Office records pertaining to the colony of Georgia; sixteen volumes of Foreign Office records containing notes exchanged from 1861 to 1868 by Lord John Russell, British Foreign Secretary, and Charles Francis Adams, American minister; and sixty-four volumes of material relating to the slave trade, also in files of the Foreign Office.

The National Archives has obtained early records of the District of Columbia, dating from 1800 until the creation of the present commission form of government in 1878. These are the first records of the District to be received, and they consist largely of assessment records and certain fiscal records of the city of Georgetown, Washington City, the District or Territory of Columbia, and Washington County. Other accessions include the records of the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission (1957-1960) and records of the Rural Electrification Administration (1935-1954), documenting much of the early development and recent expansion of the government's part in financing and constructing rural electric and telephone systems.

Sound recordings received are Voice of America programs entitled "Horizons in Science," March 1960-March 1961; network broadcasts of the series "Eyewitness to History," reviewing outstanding events of 1960, and of the series "The National Purpose," 1960, giving the views of several prominent persons; and broadcasts of the Democratic and Republican Conventions, July 1960, of President Eisenhower's speeches, May 1960-January 1961, of President Kennedy's speeches, January-March 1961, and of the 1961 presidential inauguration.

The National Archives has issued a 1961 edition of its *List of Microfilm Publications*, listing 12,626 rolls and preliminary inventory no. 133, *Records of the Bureau of Ships*.

Among microfilm publications recently completed by the National Archives are Records of the Department of State Relating to Political Relations between China and Other States, 1910-1929 (thirty-six rolls); between the United States and India, 1910-1929 (one roll); between India and Other States, 1910-1929 (one roll); between Russia and the Soviet Union and Other States, 1910-1929 (twenty rolls); and Relating to Internal Affairs of India, 1910-1929 (twenty-six rolls).

Microfilm publications of the Certificates of Ratification of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, Including Related Correspondence and Rejections of Proposed Amendments, 1787-1792 (one roll); the Enrolled Original Acts and Resolutions of the Congress of the United States, 1789-1823 (seventeen rolls); State Department Territorial Papers, Arizona, 1864-1872; a Supplemental Index to Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Atlantic and Gulf Coast Ports (excluding New York), 1820-1874 (188 rolls); and Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the States of Kentucky (136 rolls), Maryland (twenty-two rolls), and Missouri (193 rolls) were also completed.

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library has been given the papers of the late Lowell Mellett for the years 1939-1944, when Mellett was director of the Office of Government Reports and administrative assistant to the President. The papers, comprising about 22,000 pages of correspondence, are open for research use.

Recent additions to the manuscript collections of the Harry S. Truman Library include papers of Nathaniel P. Davis relating to his diplomatic service in the Philippines, Costa Rica, and Hungary and a diary kept while he was interned in Manila during World War II, and the papers of Edwin A. Locke, Jr., relating to his service as special assistant to the President and special representative in China and the Near East. These records will be available to researchers as soon as they have been processed by the library staff. Microfilm copies of the papers of John Tyler, Franklin Pierce, and Andrew Johnson have been received from the Library of Congress. The fourth annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the Harry S. Truman Library Institute for National and International Affairs was held on April 15. Wayne C. Grover, Archivist of the United States, announced that the library would shortly undertake an oral history program covering the Truman period, financed partly from the museum income account of the library and partly from private donations. The Board renewed the authorization for grants-in-aid to scholars up to one thousand dollars for each grant and up to a gross amount of ten thousand dollars in a year.

The eighth and final Eisenhower volume of the *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*, covering the year 1960, has been published. The first volume for the Truman administration, scheduled for publication in October, will cover the period April 12 through December 31, 1945. Transcripts of presidential news conferences for the Truman administration will appear publicly for the first time along with papers that have previously been made public, such as messages to Congress, formal addresses and informal remarks, messages to heads of state, and other letters and statements by the President.

The papers of Senator George Frisbie Hoar (1826-1904) were recently acquired by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

INTERNATIONAL HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

In addition to those Americans listed as having given Reports and Communications at the Eleventh International Congress of Historical Sciences in Stockholm, N. Chubaty presented a paper on "Kievan Rus' and Formation of Three East Slav Nations."

The First International Conference of Southeast Asian Historians was held at the University of Malaya, January 16-21, 1961. The Second Conference will be held in three years.

The Pakistan History Society met in Karachi from March 30 to April 1. Papers centered on the theme of Moslem culture in the subcontinent, and in addition some were devoted to Moslem-European relations and Moslem history in the Near East. Among the American scholars attending were George L. Montagno, Wallace Thompson, John Cassidy, Dwight Ryerson, and William A. Bultmann (who represented the American Historical Association). Next year the Society will hold an international conference devoted to another broad topic.

The University of Chile, Santiago, is establishing a Center of Graduate Studies on American History that will afford methodological training in historical research and in the techniques and processes of related social sciences. To help finance the center, the Rockefeller Foundation has made a four-year grant of \$75,000 to the university. The center will be the first in South America to emphasize comparative studies of all Latin American countries. It is also expected to become a focal point for communication among institutions and individuals in Latin America concerned with the history of the Americas.

The Fortieth Congress of the Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiana will be held at Turin, Italy, October 21-26, 1961.

The Tenth International Congress of the History of Science will be held at Cornell University, August 26-31, 1962, and at the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August 31-September 2, 1962. Papers are requested on the following subjects: general problems in the history of science, including methods, philosophy, and historiography of science; history of technology and applied science; science in antiquity; science in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance; mathematics and the exact sciences after 1600 (mathematics, physics, astronomy, chemistry [including pharmacy]); biological and earth sciences after 1600 (natural history and biology [including medical biology], geography, exploration, geology, and oceanography); sciences of man (psychology, anthropology, sociology, linguistics). Further information can be obtained from the secretary, Tenth International Congress of the History of Science, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

The Sixth International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences will convene in Rome, August 29-September 3, 1962.

GRANTS, AWARDS, PRIZES

The Carnegie Corporation of New York has granted the University of Wisconsin \$215,000 for research and training in comparative history.

In May 1960 the American Council of Learned Societies received a grant from the Council of Library Resources, Inc., to support an inquiry into the bases for planning scholarly photocopying projects. Specifically, the study will review perti-

nent activities of the past three decades, attempt an assessment of the planning for and results from selected large-scale projects, seek to establish criteria for selection and priority in acquisition of unpublished resources for scholarly research, and try to evolve a basic want list, by category, of significant source materials of general and recurring usefulness to American scholars. The final product will be a report synthesizing all aspects of the investigation, together with suggestions for implementation of the ideas advanced. Inquiries should be addressed to the director of the project, Lester K. Born of the Library of Congress.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association received a grant of five thousand dollars from the Ford Motor Company Fund to aid publication on the history of transportation in America. The grant provides for a prize of fifteen hundred dollars for the best book-length manuscript on this subject.

The American Council of Learned Societies has made the following grants: *Grants for African Studies*—Margaret Bates and Robert Collins. *Grants for Research on Contemporary China*—Joseph Kitagawa and Y. C. Wang. *Grants for Latin American Studies*—Charles Arnade, Robert Potash, Robert Quirk, and Alfred Tischendorf. *Grants for Slavic and East European Studies*—John Curtiss, Thomas Hammond, David Joravsky, Herbert Kaplan, George Lensen, Roderick McGrew, Hans Rogger, Ivan Rudnysky, and Peter Sugar.

Through a grant from the Ford Foundation the Council has made awards to scholars engaged in research in Asian studies: Donald Lach, Robert Sakai, Burton Stein, Arthur Tiedemann, and Stanley Wolpert.

Among historians receiving Guggenheim fellowships for 1960-1961 are: Harry Benda, Arthur Bestor, David Bien, Sidney Burrell, Eric Cochrane, Jr., Alexander Dallin, Margaret Davies, Edward Dowey, Jr., Francis Dvornik, Paul Glad, Alfred Gollin, Hugh Hawkins, David Herlihy, William Hesselstine, William Hogan, Hajo Holborn, Charles Issawi, Anne Kilmer, Jere King, Stephen Kurtz, Andrew Lossky, Thomas Mahoney, Martin Malia, Norman Martin, Richard Morris, Franklin Pegues, Leo Solt, and Richard Sullivan.

The following have received Social Science Research Council grants: *Faculty Research Fellowships*—Sigmund Diamond, William Dunham, Jr., Charles Fairman, Gabriel Jackson, William Jenks, J. Russell Major, Richard Sullivan, Hayden V. White, and Perez Zagorin. *Grants-in-Aid*—Loren Baritz, David Bien, Margaret Davies, C. Warren Hollister, Emmet Larkin, Richard Lowitt, George L. Mosse, and Bertie Wilkinson. *Grants for Research on National Security Policy*—Irving Holley, Jr. *Grants for African Studies*—Margaret Bates, Robert Collins, and John Due. *Grants for Research on Contemporary China*—Joseph Kitagawa. *Grants for Latin American Studies*—Charles Arnade, Robert Potash, Robert Quirk, and Alfred Tischendorf. *Grants for Slavic and East European Studies*—Thomas Hammond, David Joravsky, George Lensen, Roderick McGrew, Hans Rogger, and Ivan Rudnysky.

Among seventy-six public high school teachers awarded John Hay Fellowships are: Gerald Barthel, Wallace Barse, John Brennan, Mary Chalfant, Mary

Comegys, Roger Danielson, Paul DeKock, Pearl Drews, Carolyn Fink, Charles Hayes, Jr., A. Elgin Heinz, George Juric, Otto Kohler, Jr., Leonard Lang, Edward Larson, Teresa Leene, Bernard Marlin, D. Stanley Moore, Betty Nassif, Oliver Oesch, Timothy Tomlinson, Dora Venit, and Leonard Visser.

In order to further their research and writing projects in local history, the American Association for State and Local History presented awards to the following historians: James Bonner, Richard Dillon, Charles Glaab, Milton Flower, Erling Jorstad, Frenise Logan, Myron Luke, William Mallalieu, William Mulder, Margaret Ormsby, Otis Rice, and Louis Tucker.

The Woodrow Wilson National Foundation has named 1,333 students (the largest number ever selected) from 381 colleges and universities in the United States and Canada as Woodrow Wilson fellows for 1961-1962.

Hans Baron of the Newberry Library has received a Rockefeller Foundation grant.

The Bancroft Prizes for 1961 were awarded to Arthur S. Link for his *Wilson: The Struggle for Neutrality, 1914-1915*, and to Merrill D. Peterson for *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind*.

Herbert Feis won the Pulitzer Prize for history with his *Between War and Peace: The Potsdam Conference*, and David Donald received the same award for biography for his *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War*.

The Conference on British Studies has made its first award of three hundred dollars to Philip Poirier for his *The Advent of the British Labour Party*.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture has announced two manuscript awards of one thousand dollars each. The Institute Manuscript Award is offered in odd-numbered years. It assures publication for the best unpublished work in any phase of American history dealing with the period ca. 1760-ca. 1815. The Jamestown Foundation Award, offered in even-numbered years, assures publication for the best unpublished work in any phase of American history dealing with the period from discovery to ca. 1760. Further information can be secured from the Editor of Publications, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Box 1298, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Recipients of scholarships and fellowships from exempt organizations, who are not candidates for degrees, may exclude from taxable income amounts received equal to three hundred dollars times the number of months during which payments were received, up to a lifetime total of thirty-six months. Revenue Ruling 60-378, issued in the December 19, 1960, *Internal Revenue Bulletin*, confirms that sums over three hundred dollars per month will be taxable income to such grantees. No tax under the Self-Employment Contributions Act, however, need be paid, "the terms 'fellowship grant' and 'trade business' [being] inconsistent and mutually exclusive." Nor are such grantees liable for payments under the Federal Insurance Contributions [Social Security] Act, the Federal Un-

employment Tax Act, or the provisions as to wage withholdings; the ruling declares that these "grants are not 'wages.'"

PUBLICATIONS

The doctoral dissertation of Jerry A. O'Callaghan, *The Disposition of the Public Domain in Oregon* (Stanford, 1951) has been published by the Government Printing Office as a *Memorandum of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, United States Senate*, 86th Congress, 2d session. This may be the first time that a history dissertation has been published as a committee print.

Compilation of the "Guide to Photocopied Historical Materials in the United States and Canada," according to Dr. Richard Hale, has revealed that important historical materials are often improperly identified when they are microfilmed or otherwise photocopied. He urges historians, whenever they are connected with any program of microfilming or of other forms of photoreproduction, to arrange for proper scholarly identification. It is easy to make such identification an integral part of the microfilm or other photocopy at the time of photoreproduction; failure to do this reduces the scholarly value of photocopied materials.

The first two issues of *History and Theory* have been published. This new journal contains essays and reviews concerning theories and methods of history and historiography. Appearing irregularly in *Beihefte* which later form a volume, it is published by Mouton & Co. at The Hague and edited by George H. Nadel of Harvard University.

The *Journal of British Studies* is being established by Trinity College. Willson H. Coates of the University of Rochester is the editor and George B. Cooper of Trinity College, the managing editor. The *Journal* will appear twice yearly; the regular subscription rate is four dollars.

The journal, *Labor History*, plans to publish a special report on the research being done in labor history. Those doing research in the field should get in touch with Professor Albert A. Blum, Labor and Industrial Relations Center, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan.

The Institute for Balkan Studies of Thessalonikē, Greece, announces the publication of a new journal, *Balkan Studies*, which will be devoted to the historical, literary, political, economic, and social development of the Balkan peoples from ancient times to the present, with special emphasis on the period since the Ottoman conquest. Information concerning the journal may be obtained from Professor George G. Arnakis, University of Texas.

OTHER HISTORICAL NEWS

Approximately 125 persons attended the fourth annual meeting of the Missouri Valley Conference of Collegiate Teachers of History, March 24-25, at the University of Omaha. Bell Wiley, Franklin H. Littell, and Philip S. Brooks were speakers. The next meeting will be March 23-24, 1962.

The spring meeting of the Conference on British Studies was held April 8 at New York University. Leonard Thompson, formerly of the University of Cape Town and now at the Commonwealth Studies Center, Duke University, spoke on "British Views of South African Unification: Reflections on a Delusion."

Over 130 persons attended the seventh conference of the Society for French Historical Studies at Princeton University, April 14-15. The President, Robert R. Palmer, the Vice-President, Jean Joughin, and Richard D. Challener headed the committees which prepared the program and provided for local arrangements. Officers for the coming year are: President, Stanley Idzerda, Michigan State University; Vice-President, George T. Matthews, Michigan State University (Oakland). The next conference will be held in April at Michigan State University.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association met in Detroit, April 20-22. Over eight hundred historians attended, and the following officers were elected for 1961-1962: President, Paul W. Gates, Cornell University; Vice-President, Ray A. Billington, Northwestern University; Secretary-Treasurer, W. D. Aeschbacher, Nebraska State Historical Society. The Association's 1962 meeting will be held in Milwaukee.

PERSONAL

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

American University: Carl Anthon of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina appointed professor and named chairman of the department, replacing Ernst Posner who is retiring. *Arlington State College* (Texas): Clarence P. Denman promoted to professor, Robert D. Boyle and Sam B. Hamlett, to assistant professor. *Carnegie Institute of Technology*: Jacob Ernest Cooke appointed professor and named head of the department. *City College of New York*: Joseph A. Boromé promoted to associate professor; Sydney Eisen appointed assistant professor, Alfred A. Cave, Henry D. Reck, Frederic C. Jaher, and Irwin H. Yellowitz, instructor; Milton Offutt, Helene Wieruszowski, and J. Alexis Fenton retired. *Clark University*: Gerald N. Grob promoted to associate professor. *Colorado College*: Bentley B. Gilbert on leave during 1961-62. *Columbia University*: Frank N. Elliott of Michigan State University named associate dean of the School of General Studies; Henry Steele Commager and Eric F. Goldman appointed visiting professor for the year 1961-62; Richard B. Morris and William E. Leuchtenburg on leave for that year. *University of Delaware*: Donald A. Limoli appointed assistant professor, Reed Geiger, instructor. *Eastern Illinois University*: Edward F. Cox and Leonard C. Wood appointed assistant professor. *Elon College* (North Carolina): H. H. Cunningham named William S. Long Professor of History and chairman of the department of social studies. *Fairleigh Dickinson*

¹ The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and extended leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session or completed temporary appointments, leaves of absence of less than a year, or honorary degrees and citations.

University: Heinz F. Mackensen promoted to associate professor. *Kansas State University*: William T. Doherty, jr., appointed professor, George Hilton Jones and Joseph Milton Gallanar, assistant professor; James C. Carey on leave for the year 1961-62.

Longwood College: Alexander V. Berkis appointed associate professor. *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*: Thomas H. D. Mahoney promoted to professor, Bruce Mazlish, associate professor. *Miami University (Ohio)*: Charles R. Wilson of Colgate University named provost. *University of Michigan*: F. Clever Bald and Gerald S. Brown promoted to professor, William S. Hanna, to assistant professor; Norton Herschell Mezvinsky, Zdenek Voclav David, and Robert Lehman Reigle appointed instructor; Andrei Lobanov-Rostovsky and Preston W. Slosson retired, the latter after forty years of teaching in the department. *Mills College*: Charles E. Larsen promoted to associate professor and named chairman of the division of social sciences. *Muhlenberg College*: Katherine S. Van Eerde of the University of Rhode Island appointed associate professor. *New England Board of Higher Education*: Martin Lichterman of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology named executive secretary. *University of North Carolina*: Cecil Johnson appointed to the staff; John K. Nelson on leave. *Ohio University*: Carl G. Gustavson succeeded John F. Cady as chairman of the department. *University of Oregon*: J. F. Gilliam of the State University of Iowa appointed professor. *Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission*: Frank B. Evans appointed state archivist to replace Henry H. Eddy, who retired after thirteen years in the position. *Pratt Institute*: Richard H. Heindel of Wagner College named president. *Queens College*: Courtney R. Hall promoted to professor, Salvatore Saladino, to assistant professor.

Rice University: William W. Abbot appointed associate professor and associate editor of the *Journal of Southern History*. *Roosevelt University*: David B. Miller, Joel T. Rosenthal, and Don S. Kirschner appointed assistant professor. *Russell Sage College*: Sherman D. Spector named instructor. *Sacramento State College*: Samuel Ross promoted to associate professor. *San Fernando Valley State College*: Marin Pundeff promoted to associate professor. *Stanford University*: Gordon A. Craig of Princeton University appointed professor. *University of Texas*: W. H. Callcott of the University of South Carolina and Thomas P. Abernethy of the University of Virginia appointed visiting professor for the year 1961-62. *University of Toledo*: Arthur R. Steele promoted to associate professor; Andrew J. Townsend on leave during 1961-62. *Utah State University*: Everett L. Cooley appointed associate professor; Stanford Cazier appointed to the staff; Joel E. Ricks retired as professor emeritus. *Wake Forest College*: James Edwin Hendricks appointed assistant professor. *West Virginia Institute of Technology*: Otis K. Rice promoted to professor, Neil Shaw Penn, to assistant professor. *University of Western Ontario*: Albert V. Tucker promoted to assistant professor; Richard C. Overton appointed professor, Allan Wilson, assistant professor, and Thayron A. Sandquist, instructor. *Wheaton College*: Hudson Armerding of Gordon College named associate professor. *Williams College*: John Sawyer of Yale University succeeds James P. Baxter III as president. *Woman's College of the University of North Carolina*: Richard Bardolph named chairman of the department.

RECENT DEATHS

Demas E. Barnes died September 21, 1960, at the age of sixty-seven. He served as assistant to the president of Ohio Northern University (1941-1943) and as associate professor of history at the University of Pittsburgh from 1943 until his retirement in 1958.

William H. Best of West Newton, Massachusetts, a life member of the Association, died October 28, 1960.

Cornelius J. Brosnan, who taught American history at the University of Idaho from 1921 until his retirement in 1951, died January 17 at the age of seventy-eight. He held a B.A. from the University of Michigan, an M.A. from Harvard University, and a Ph.D. degree from the University of California. He was the author of *Jason Lee, Prophet of the New Oregon*. Following his retirement from the University of Idaho, he served on the staff of Whitworth College.

Arthur Pearson Scott, a member of the history department of the University of Chicago from 1913 to 1949, died February 10 at the age of seventy-seven. His wisdom, wit, and scholarship, unmarred by pedantry, attracted many students to his classes. Besides originating and teaching a sequence of courses on the expansion of Europe, he shared in organizing and offering introductory courses in the humanities and on world civilization. Author of *An Introduction to the Peace Treaties* and *Criminal Law in Colonial Virginia*, he devoted his last years to preparing a manuscript on the overseas expansion of Europe.

Walter Louis Dorn, a member of the Council of the Association from 1954 to 1958, died February 16. He concentrated his research and writing on the history of Europe, and especially of Prussia, in the eighteenth century; he published many authoritative articles in this field, and his volume *Competition for Empire, 1740-1763*, in the Langer series, was widely praised for its able scholarship and its lively style. As a teacher of history at Chicago, Wisconsin, Ohio State, and Columbia, he persuaded his students that the work of every historian must embody, consciously or unconsciously, that historian's philosophy of history. Dorn's course on historiography and the philosophy of history was rewarding to every student on his rolls. For most of the decade of the 1940's he was engaged in the service of the government. He wrote many influential reports on the political questions that America faced in Germany and became a major adviser on German affairs to General Lucius D. Clay and to other high American authorities. At the time of his death, Dorn had very nearly completed a detailed book on American occupation policy in Germany. In mind and spirit—even in his courtly manner and his very presence—Walter Dorn was in many ways a man of the eighteenth century that he loved, a man of the Enlightenment.

Faith Thompson, who died April 7, was born in Minneapolis in 1893, and except for brief absences she lived there all her life. Her long and distinguished career as a teacher and scholar was intimately connected with the department of history at the University of Minnesota. She graduated from the university in 1917

and received the M.A. in 1919 and the Ph.D. degree in 1923. After a brief term of teaching at Wooster College in 1922-1923, she joined the history department at Minnesota where she remained an active member until a few weeks before her death. Miss Thompson was known throughout the country as one of the ablest women historians in America. Her interest lay in English constitutional and legal history, with special reference to Magna Carta. Her two volumes, *The First Century of Magna Carta: Why It Persisted as a Document* and *Magna Carta: Its Role in the Making of the English Constitution*, explained not only how that famous document was used in a practical way but also how it was gradually transformed into a great symbol of English liberty. These and other studies brought Miss Thompson a high scholarly reputation. Students profited not only from her wise counsel but also in a material way from the Faith Thompson Scholarships which she established and maintained.

Dorothy Woodward, member of the history department at the University of New Mexico from 1935 to 1956, died in April at the age of sixty-five.

A. Howard Meneely, president of Wheaton College since 1944, died May 12 at the age of sixty-two. Having received his doctorate from Columbia University in 1928, he joined the history faculty at Dartmouth College, where he remained until 1944. His publications include the book, *War Department, 1861*.

COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In the interest of justice to a dead scholar, I should like to put straight the record which Professor A. R. M. Lower has so remarkably distorted in his review of J. Bartlet Brebner's posthumously published book, *Canada: A Modern History* (*AHR*, LXVI [Jan. 1961], 489).

Lower piously notes that he found it hard to be objective in the case of a departed "fellow student and fellow scholar," and hard to write his disparaging review. Evidently he also found it hard to check his facts, for his interpretation of Brebner's career plays fast and loose with chronology to make a nationalist case. *North Atlantic Triangle* was published in 1945 and *The Explorers of North America* in 1933, while *The Makers of Modern Britain* appeared in 1943. Thus Brebner's interests did not shift, as Lower asserts, from Canada to the United States and then to Britain.

The fact is that from his first book, *New England's Outpost: Acadia before the Conquest of Canada* (1927), to the study of industrial Britain during the last two hundred years, of which only four chapters were in draft form at his death in 1957, Brebner was concerned with different aspects of what he called the "North Atlantic Triangle" of Britain, Canada, and the United States. Nothing could be more natural in the case of a man who was born in Canada of Loyalist stock; who was educated at Toronto, Oxford, and Columbia; and who spent most of his professional life teaching English and Canadian history in New York City. The seminal concept which was Brebner's great contribution was first outlined

in a paper on "Canadian and North American History," published in the 1931 *Report* of the Canadian Historical Association. Out of this paper and the discussion which it aroused grew *The Relations of Canada and the United States*, the great series of which he was not only "one of the principal architects," but also the chief editorial workman as well. *The Explorers* (1933) was followed by *The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia* (1937), which carried on the history of a key area of the Triangle from 1760 to 1783, and by Brebner's editing and completion of Marcus Lee Hansen's *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples* (1940). *The Making of Modern Britain* (1943) was a wartime task, written from a sense of urgency about Anglo-American understanding in a major crisis of the Triangle, rather than from the mercenary motives that Lower so gratuitously imputes to one who cannot reply.

Canada: A Modern History was not "an afterthought." It was written in response to the demand for a one-volume history of Canada written for non-Canadians, for a broader view of the making of the Canadian tradition than had been achieved by Canadian historians subject to local loyalties and the emotional nationalism of the 1940's and 1950's. For many readers the book breaks fresh ground and offers new insights; it is a stimulating and valuable work. Lower is certainly entitled to his unfavorable opinion of the book, but he is not entitled to misrepresent grossly the facts of a distinguished career which both broadened the base and greatly advanced the frontiers of Canadian historical studies.

University of Rochester

MASON WADE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

With respect to my mistakes in the chronology of Brebner's writings, I dutifully eat humble pie, especially as I used *The Explorers of North America* in my own classes shortly after it appeared. I cannot accept, however, the suggestions of denigration implied by the use of such tendentious words as "piously," "distorted," and "mercenary." My respect for a departed colleague is probably as considerable as is that of Wade, and this did not make it easy to review a book which in my judgment had to have certain adverse criticisms passed upon it. I abide by those criticisms, which I find shared to some degree by Professor Stacey in the *Canadian Historical Review* for March 1961. Nor does it seem to me improper interpretation of a scholar's career to suggest that as time passed, he was more and more absorbed into the environment in which he found himself—it would have been strange had he not been. I see nothing personally offensive in that, and I resent the words "misrepresent grossly." Wade's letter seems an attempt to attribute to me a maliciousness of motive which I do not entertain.

Queen's University

A. R. M. LOWER

EDITOR'S NOTE

The *Review* continues to desire fresh interpretive essays in all fields of history, studies which, in bringing to light new facts, offer new insights and sum up recent research. At this time the *Review* particularly hopes to receive studies of this kind in all periods of American history, beginning with the colonial.

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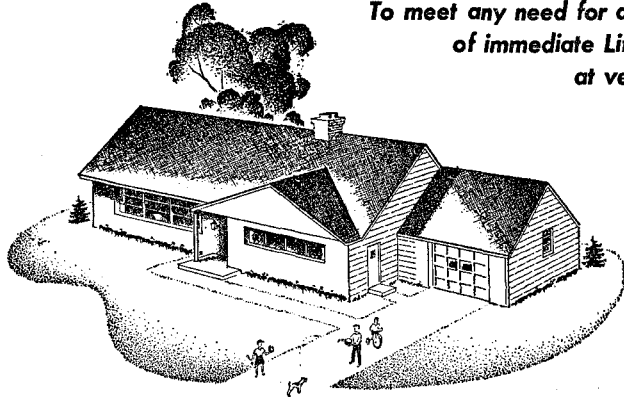
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